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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this guide is to encourage a rational understanding of the problems associated with nuclear armaments and to present a constructive approach to finding a solution. Each unit is introduced with a review of new terms, after which the topic is summarized and then is concluded with a vocabulary review and unit examination. Unit 1 examines today's world as it exists in relation to the territorial incursions made by the Soviet Union. Unit 2 synopsizes the major events in Russian and Soviet history. Unit 3 outlines the different types of responses by the United States to Soviet threats. Unit 4 discusses peacemaking strategies of aid, negotiation, armistices, and treaties. Unit 5 describes the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). The goal of the SDI program is to remove the threat of first-strike destruction from long-range missiles. The SDI program is geared to intercepting and neutralizing any weapon that exits the atmosphere. The book concludes with answer sheets for the vocabulary lessons, reviews, and examinations. (SM)

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The Strategy of Defense

A secondary level curriculum for Social Studies

MY HOUSE
PEACE SHIELD

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A National Council for Better Education Publication

THE STRATEGY OF DEFENSE:

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF GLOBAL CONFLICT

Compiled by

The National Council for Better Education
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SPECIAL THANKS TO:

GENERAL DANIEL GRAHAM -- for providing the information necessary to complete this project

BEVERLY K. EAKMAN -- for her tireless efforts in preparing the bulk of the manuscript

CAROLYN CANNON -- for her editing expertise

Dear Educator:

It seems a shame that our children are being subjected to a constant barrage of doom and gloom on the subject of existing in a nuclear era. The reality of the world today is that there will be more rather than fewer nuclear power plants and more rather than fewer nations with nuclear weapons, despite well-meaning objections. There is little good and much potential harm in creating despair and hostility in young minds because of these inexorable facts.

There is a hopeful and challenging alternative to this dismal view. It is the use of U.S. space-technology to remove the threat of nuclear annihilation with non-nuclear protective systems and to open up space to improve conditions in our society and in the entire world.

This is the message of High Frontier and SDI. It is a view that certainly should be presented to our young people and is today imperative as an antidote to a steady diet of pessimism.

Daniel O. Graham
Lt. Gen., USA (Ret.)
Director, High Frontier

Dear Educator:

Ten years ago I arrived in the classroom ready to impart knowledge and understanding to my students. One topic that was gaining importance at the time was nuclear war. I looked for materials on the subject and found only one curriculum that dealt with the subject. It was Choices: A Unit on Conflict and War, developed by the NEA and the Union for Concerned Scientists.

The problems I had with this curriculum were several. First and foremost, it contains factual inaccuracies and distortions. Also, it is blatantly biased in favor of the Soviet Union (by that I mean against the United States) and in favor of unilateral disarmament. While these are valid views, they are not the only views, and as I sought materials with a different perpective I found that they simply did not exist. They still do not.

With this in mind, I have worked with General Graham of High Frontier to create this curriculum.

My purpose is to provide a balance to the current materials available. The Strategy of Defense is decidedly pro-America. I do not apologize for this, and I am happy to make it clear right at the start. If you, as a teacher, feel that the sentiments are too strong, then by all means use outside materials in conjunction with it -- that is the nature of a free society.

The purpose of education is to enlarge and enrich the mind with new ideas. That purpose cannot be fulfilled when rhetoric is used exclusively. Unlike the NEA's materials, The Strategy of Defense offers teachers a chance to present a factual history of Russian international policy and a truthful understanding of the Strategic Defense Initiative to high school students.

The National Council for Better Education has accomplished what it set out to do -- we have provided an alternative source of information for the dedicated educator to consider and to use.

I hope that this curriculum inspires a vigorous exchange of ideas in your classroom -- after all, that's what education is all about.

Sally D. Reed
Chairman, National Council for
Better Education

FOREWORD

There can be no doubt that people throughout the free world are uneasy when the issue of nuclear exchange is broached. Understandably, we are uncomfortable about the stockpiling of nuclear armaments, the so-called "arms race," the prospect of modern weaponry in the hands of terrorists or maniacs.

Fortunately, most people are not hysterics. While virtually everyone would be happy to be rid of weapons having such destructive capability, few of those living in a free society would find relinquishing their liberties a viable method of arms control.

Those who lived through World War II, and particularly those who suffered at the hands of the SS for the sake of Hitler's peculiar mania, do not find the legacies of places like Dachau, Auschwitz, and Bergen-Belsen less frightening or horrible than the prospect of nuclear exchange. At some point, Holocaust becomes, simply, Holocaust, whether it goes by the name of "concentration camp" or "nuclear conflagration."

In a similar vein, living without freedom or dignity or choice is slavery, pure and simple. If we believe that human beings have "certain inalienable rights" then the proper response to the nuclear challenge is one based on facts, not fear; on logic, not emotion; on reason, not resignation.

In short, "give up or die," "gloom or doom" are not choices.

At the National Council for Better Education, we do not believe the future of our planet -- or our nation -- is served by dwelling upon gory depictions of nuclear aftermath, radiation sickness, and so on. No one has to be told that nuclear weapons are dangerous, and to keep harping on the fact only obscures the complex issues involved. Young people today live with incredible perils from many different sources: drugs, guns, automobiles, and even cancer -- all of them unspeakably dangerous and all of them at one time unheard-of. But mere understanding of the more gruesome possibilities inherent in each of these has hardly been tantamount to eliminating their destructiveness. In point of fact, explicit, gut-level portrayals have done little to control either drug abuse, murder, or reckless driving, much less cancer.

And so it is with the subject of nuclear armaments.

Solutions do not come by means of fear, emotionalism, or resignation. Nor do people un-invent their weapons. Young people will be encouraged to participate in the challenge of finding solutions only if they first understand the nature of the various conflicts as they exist in the world; if they examine the strategies which have already been employed to contain these conflicts; and finally, if they are given the opportunity to explore bold new options that exist on the horizon.

Thus the purpose of this guide: To encourage a rational understanding of the problems at hand and to present a constructive approach to finding a solution.

INTRODUCTION

In the long history of conflict on this planet, the observation can be made that aggressors have a psychological advantage over nonagressors. That is to say, in a combat situation, those who hold life and possessions dear are at a disadvantage to those to whom life is cheap. Quite simply, this means that world leaders who think nothing of sacrificing the lives of hundreds of thousands of their own people are going to approach the subject of conflict far differently from those who find the death of even one person unacceptable.

This is one reason why the Japanese suicide (Kamikaze) missions in World War II were so devastating. The enemy knew beyond doubt that he would lose his life (not to mention his aircraft) and was prepared to do so, while the Allies had a goal of survival.

If an armed burglar breaks into a house and, in the process of gathering up his booty, runs into the homeowner, several things, called scenarios, can take place. How the homeowner fares will be determined to a large extent upon the homeowner himself.

The homeowner has several options, and he must quickly consider his priorities and assess the mood of his opponent.

Taken by surprise, the homeowner might run. It is possible that by doing so the homeowner may save his life, but that is by no means assured. The criminal might worry about being recognized later, or he might imagine the homeowner is going to get help. In either case, Mr. or Mrs. Homeowner is in big trouble.

The homeowner might, instead of running, say to the thief, "I didn't see anything if you just walk out of here right now." That, too, might work, depending upon the disposition of the burglar. Of course there is no assurance in that case that the burglar will not rob someone else in the neighborhood the next night. Perhaps the thief will not believe he will really be allowed to "just walk out of here," or maybe he is counting on finishing the job he started.

The homeowner could also attack the burglar, if he is lucky enough to have a weapon. The homeowner might win and see the burglar to justice, but then again, he might lose and put the rest of his family at risk.

In another scenario, the homeowner might feel called upon to help the burglar reform his ways. "Here," the homeowner says, "take the money I hid in the cookie jar, too, and you can even come to me for a job, if you will just turn yourself in." The thief might have any number of reactions to that one, but it is doubtful that the homeowner's suggestion would be taken too seriously.

As you can see, even with this relatively simple illustration, the issue of what to do in a confrontational situation is very complex. Even if one is lucky enough to have his wits about him when the moment arrives, the issue is not as obvious as it might at first seem.

The major difference between a conflict between nations and a conflict between individuals is that world conflicts do not generally surface overnight. This means opponents have time to size one another up, so to speak; to consider how each other might react. One method of doing this is to study how a nation has reacted in the past: to look at its economy, to listen to its leaders. In today's world, however, how a nation reacts in a confrontational situation will probably depend more on historical and cultural factors than on the temperament and disposition of the individual who happens to hold the highest office.

In observing the history of international conflict, certain truths seem to emerge.

One is that appeasement of an aggressor is never sucessful. That is, the making of repeated concessions, material concessions or concessions of principle, is seen by an aggressor as an invitation to push for even more. The more that is given, the more an aggressor thinks he can get.

Some argue, of course, that if everyone had what he needed, no one would be fighting to get what belongs to someone else. The fallacy in this argument is that what someone needs and what he thinks he needs may be two different things. And the word "need" may not be appropriate. People often want things whether they need them or not. And since it is human nature to continually aspire, this isn't particularly surprising. But like the burglar who comes to rob your house, the normal human goal of aspiration can be twisted to become something much less desirable: taking supply from those who have earned it to give to those who want it for nothing. This "it" doesn't necessarily mean money. "It" can refer to land, to raw materials, even to sheer power.

Indeed, not all conflicts are over material supply; many wars are fought on principle, and still others are power struggles.

The Revolutionary War and the Civil War were fought largely on principle. In the case of the former, the new colonies had come to the point where they had less and less in common with their British rulers and needed to form a government that reflected their own problems and interests. The Civil War represented both a conflict of economic interests and moral principles. The point is that some conflicts are not based solely on aggression.

Another apparent truism is that no weapon of destruction is ever abandoned until it becomes obsolete. Poison gas, the bow and arrow, B-52s: no treaty ever had the slightest affect on the use of these weapons. The reason they are not used is because they became useless.

Today we are fighting "a war called peace." As former President Richard Nixon, a master of foreign policy, explained it, "The Soviets have . . . been trying to win World War III without risking a nuclear exchange. They know that the object of war is not to obliterate the opponent, but to make him surrender."

In the United States, we have a difficult time conceiving the kind of quest for power that exists in some other nations. This doesn't mean our people are too decent for that sort of thing; it simply means that power in our country is not the status symbol it is in some other nations. Americans tend to crave goods, position or status within the context of a career, material wealth, and emotional satisfaction. But pure power lust is something that is prevalent in America only to a lesser degree.

Americans have never had any particular desire to "conquer the world." In fact, most Americans would find the idea a little silly, which makes it that much more difficult to imagine another country with leaders who have such an ambition. We made that mistake with Adolf Hitler, with Mussolini, with Japan, and we are making it again today. The fact that hundreds of thousands flee Communism every year, risking life, possessions, families, and homes, somehow is not enough to convince us concerning the seriousness of the threat. That high-level defectors from behind the Iron Curtain have written volumes and risked their lives to warn us is not enough either. Nor are the cries from country after country which has succumbed to Soviet advances since World War II, the latest being Afghanistan. Not satisfied with Europe, the Communists are still hard at work in Africa and in Central America.

World War III, which has actually been going on since shortly after the Second World War, is a war of aggression, a war of principles, and a war of "disinformation" -- the latter being a form of what is known as psychological warfare. The target of this war is the United States, by way of smaller and less affluent nations. The perpetrator of the war, the Soviet Union, has been carrying out its campaigns largely unchecked for nearly forty years.

Our greatest disadvantage in World War III, as indicated earlier, is that we want peace. We are a peace-loving nation and would like nothing better than to turn "swords into plowshares" and to use the money we currently spend on weaponry on things that would bring us more pleasure.

No doubt the laying down of arms would please many of the Soviet people, too, who spend enough time already battling for such simple commodities as toilet tissue. Unfortunately, people in that part of the world have known little other than war and want, and many are easily convinced that the only way out of their predicament is to conquer the West. In any case, whether they believe their masters' propaganda or not, the Soviet people are slaves of the state and have no choice in the matter. It is a question of survival for them -- and for us.

The nuclear threat that exists today is in many ways a double-edged sword. On the one hand, fear of nuclear holocaust has probably played a large role in restraining the Soviets. On the other hand, it has generated a new type of warfare -- psychological warfare -- which Americans were not prepared for. Nuclear weapons also pose a terrible threat, either through accidental use or getting into hands of outlaw terrorist organizations whose members feel they have nothing to lose.

In short, we have been swept into an age of nuclear blackmail: an era in which the terms "threat" and "retaliation" are but one and the same.

While it would be nice if we could say that this situation should bring the world to its senses in seeking nonviolent solutions to the world's problems, this is not likely to be the case. The principal reason is that the main obstacle to peace is not nuclear weapons at all but, rather, the Soviet goal of world domination. The unpleasant fact is that the Soviet leadership has demonstrated repeatedly that it does not want problems between nations solved, does not want human needs met, and that it thrives on chaos, confusion, and fear.

Consequently, it is necessary to assess our options in dealing with this threat. If we want a world without nuclear weapons, we can hardly count on the Soviets or fanatic terrorist groups around the globe for help in that direction. We shall have to think of something ourselves.

History tells us that weapons are retired only as the result of _obsolescence_. That is, either something comes along that is better, or the weapon itself is rendered ineffective.

In 1984, President Ronald Reagan challenged the scientific and engineering community to come up with a technology that would render nuclear weapons obsolete; a technology that would render a nuclear device utterly useless before it ever came close to its target. If they could come up with such a technology, the President even offered to share it with the Soviets so that they, too, would be relieved of the threat of nuclear holocaust.

The scientific and engineering communities responded to the challenge overwhelmingly. The new technology is called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). The purpose of SDI is to neutralize nuclear warheads in space, before they can do any damage to life on earth. Because the technique is based in space, the technology has been called "Star Wars," after the movie of the same name. Actually, this is somewhat of a misnomer since no "war" per se would occur in space or anywhere else. The only use for the technology would be to neutralize war weapons.

The Soviet response has been interesting. Our newscasts seem to be telling us that the Soviets prefer a balance of terror to a balance of safety. The Soviet leadership has threatened to back out of any negotiations unless our President abandons "Star Wars."

Some members of the American press have been taken in by the Soviet threat and disinformation campaigns for fear that Soviet leaders will not come to the bargaining table unless we scrap our Strategic Defense idea.

Yet it would seem that the Soviets would be clamoring to get something similar for themselves -- if, that is, they were really interested in being free of the nuclear threat. That they are not doing so, then, should give some idea of the Communists' true motives.

In any case, as students of world affairs, you need to understand both the history of conflict and its control, as well as this revolutionary approach to the nuclear threat known as SDI. It's premise is to protect countless innocent people from nuclear exchange, either accidental or deliberate.

Most of all, SDI is to be a first step toward stopping what is considered by some to be the "ultimate" Soviet threat: nuclear blackmail.

VOCABULARY - INTRODUCTION

NEW WORDS AND TERMS

broach - (v.) to open up for discussion

relinquish - (v.) to yield, to give up something

Dachau, Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen -- three infamous Nazi concentration camps

conflagration - (n.) disastrous fire or conflict

resignation - (n.) surrender, acceptance of a situation

aftermath - (n.) the period immediately following an event

option - (n.) choice

aggressor - (n.) a person or nation that acts as an attacker

priority - (n.) a preferential, or superior, rating

disposition - (n.) mood

scenario - (n.) a projected course of action or events

confrontation - (n.) a clashing of forces

concession - (n.) something given away with (usually the hope of getting something in return)

principle - (n.) a fundamental law or code of conduct

principal - (n.) chief, primary (can apply to people or ideas)

aspiration - (n.) desire; goal

obliterate - (v.) to destroy all trace of

context - (n.) the parts surrounding a word or passage that sheds light on the real meaning

prevalent - (adj.) generally accepted or widespread

Afghanistan - a country in [redacted] Asia

psychological - (adj.) directed toward the will or the mind

obsolescence - (n.) the process of becoming outmoded

misnomer - (n.) a wrong name or designation

appeasement -- (n.) "buying off" an aggressor by making repeated concessions (usually at the sacrifice of principles)

VOCABULARY LESSON -- Introduction

EXERCISE A. Match up each of the following words with the one most closely related to it. In every case the words are simply different forms of the word in your vocabulary list. Place next to each new form the part of speech it represents (v = verb, n = noun, adj = adjective, adv = adverb).

VOCABULARY WORD	NEW WORD FORM
a. resignation	1. prevail
b. option	2. concede
c. aggressor	3. aspire
d. concession	4. obsolete
e. psychological	5. psychology
f. aspiration	6. resigned
g. obsolescence	7. opt
h. confrontation	8. confront
i. disposition	9. aggressive
j. prevalent	10. disposed

EXERCISE B. Fill in the blanks with the correct word from the vocabulary list. In some cases you may need to use a form of the original word from the matching list above.

1. In the ____________________ of the Mexican earthquake, many people died from lack of medical supplies.

2. The boss told his secretary that the important letter to Mr. Ryan was a top ______________.

3. "Treat others the way you would want to be treated" is an often-quoted religious and moral __________________.

4. Raisins or nuts were _______________ suggested in the cookie recipe.

5. The ________________ reason you are studying this unit is to better understand world conflict.

6. Mary had _________________ herself to failing the history test; consequently she was __________________ defeated.

7. Her main ________________ in life was to be an actress.

8. Because the newspaper printed what the President said out of ____________, everyone thought SDI was an offensive, instead of a defensive, weapon.

9. In order to get his sister to give up her favorite television show so that he could watch his, John made many ________________, such as agreeing to do the dishes for a week.

10. Unfortunately, his sister didn't ________________ the television set, and the two wound up in a bitter __________________ over the matter.

11. Calling a local police station a "Gestapo" is a _______________ because it grossly exaggerates the role of our police forces.

12. The student was afraid to ______________ the subject of his grades with his teacher for fear that she might notice he hadn't turned in his work that day.

EXERCISE C. Complete the following sentences:

1. If I don't prioritize my work every day, I

2. My dad says that automobiles are examples of "planned obsolescence" because

3. I had to relinquish my turn at the computer terminal when

4. An example of a mathematical principle is

5. Those who say that the Founding Fathers believed in a Supreme Being point to the context surrounding the words

6. For my senior year in high school, I have the option of

7. Rick's aggressive behavior cost him

8. Hay fever is most prevalent in areas where

9. My disposition is terrible whenever

10. The principal problem with the policy of appeasement is

INTRODUCTION REVIEW

There will be only one review exercise for this introductory section. More numerous exercises and an exam section will be included at the end of each of the following units.

EXERCISE. Multiple choice. Select the most appropriate choice to complete each of the following statements. Read each of the choices completely before making a decision -- you will find out why!

1. "Kamikaze" raids represented a particularly difficult challenge to American troops in World War II because

a. our troops couldn't see them well enough to shoot them down
b. the Japanese had better weapons than the United States did
c. the enemy was already prepared to lose his life d. American generals were afraid of losing too many American men

2. The major difference between a conflict between individuals and a conflict between nations is that

a. in a conflict between nations opponents usually have had time to size each other up b. in a conflict between nations you don't know who your enemies are c. in a conflict between nations one side usually has better weapons than the other side

3. The policy of appeasement is generally not successful because

a. people need too many things in life b. whatever is given is never enough c. it is seen by an aggressor as an invitation to push for more d. it winds up being a form of blackmail e. all of the above f. three of the above

4. All of the following are good ways to find out how another country will react EXCEPT

a. listening to what the leaders say b. studying a nation's history c. studying a nation's culture d. studying the nation's economy e. judging the personality of the nation's highest leader

5. History shows that weapons only fall out of use when

a. they don't work anymore b. something better comes along c. when a treaty is signed banning their use d. when enough people have been killed with them e. a and b above f. c and d above

6. The "war called peace" is

a. World War III b. the Soviet drive for world domination c. the present conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union d. all of the above e. none of the above

7. The United States' GREATEST disadvantage in World War III is

a. that Americans are not aware war has begun b. that the Soviet Union has been taking over other nations for nearly 40 years c. that the United States has no experience in psychological warfare d. that the United States is a peace-loving nation

8. The GREATEST advantage of the Soviet Union in World War III is

a. that the Soviet people are used to constant warfare and hardship b. the Soviets have superior weapons c. the Soviet people believe communist propaganda d. the Soviets people cannot get the necessities they need when they want them

9. The term "nuclear blackmail" means that

a. the Soviet Union keeps trying to steal nuclear weapons from the United States b. that everyone is afraid of nuclear weapons c. both the United States and the Soviet Union can destroy each other d. one country or outlaw organization can get what it wants just by threatening to use nuclear weapons

10. The Soviet Union's response to President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) leads one to believe that

a. the Soviet leaders prefer a balance of terror to survival b. the President's SDI idea won't work c. the Soviet leaders are bluffing when they threaten to use nuclear weapons d. that the Soviet Union would rather steal SDI than to share it.

UNIT ONE

THE WORLD THE WAY IT IS

Since 1974 alone, nine countries have been brought under communist domination: Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, South Yemen, Mozambique, Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam.

Except for possibly two or three, you most likely are unfamiliar with these countries, where they are located, or anything about their land or culture.

You are not alone. The fact is that most Americans are quite unfamiliar with places like Somalia and Oman; they don't know where the Straits of Hormuz are located, and they can't place names like Emperor Haile Selassie. Yet these and other "obscure" names and places around the globe are vital to American interests and to those of the western world. Unfortunately, American ignorance and lack of interest in these regions has given the Soviet Union one of its greatest advantages.

Since 1939, the Soviet Union has subjugated more than a third of the human race; the countries, besides those already mentioned, include Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, East Germany, North Korea, Czechoslavakia, Cuba, and Suriname. That's 22 countries in all, and now the Soviet military machine is working on Nicaragua and other nations in Central America as well as nations in Africa. The Middle Eastern country of Iran, once a source of great beauty as well as Western strength, was in a very short time plunged into chaos, thanks in part to Soviet opportunism. The tragic boat people of Vietnam, refugees fleeing from Afghanistan and Eastern Europe, and the daring escapes from the Soviet Union are proof that when people have a choice they reject communism.

All countries which have been taken over by the communists have economy that are in shambles, have no personal freedom, and cannot obtain the goods and conveniences that we take for granted every day. Some of the countries, like Afghanistan and Poland were invaded outright. Others were taken over in "wars of liberation," where the communists moved in to "free" the people from colonial rule.

Of course, the people never had any chance to be free, and without exception they are worse off than they were under the colonial government. Still other nations exchanged one bad government for a worse government.

In order to understand these events clearly, however, it is necessary to have some frame of reference. For example, what is "colonial rule"? Why are certain areas considered "strategic"? What is "strategic balance"? What policies have met with the most success in keeping the peace, and which policies have failed? Why do certain policies fail? Why is a remote area like

Afghanistan, on the other side of the world, important to us here in America?

These are questions we must explore before we can hope to undertake to solve any of the problems.

Moral Considerations on War and Peace

> "Peace cannot be obtained on earth unless personal values are safeguarded and men freely and trustingly share with one another the riches of their inner spirits and talents."

The above quotation comes from "The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," and is one of many recent writings that emphasizes "the immorality of war" and, in particular, the "arms race." For the most part, the authors favor a policy known as disarmament. Their major argument is that warfare and, indeed, any sort of violence, is immoral; that the stockpiling of weapons cannot be condoned under any circumstances; that nuclear weapons in particular cannot be allowed to proliferate further; and that therefore, if the United States were really a moral nation, it would set the example by disarming first.

If the issue were this simple, perhaps it would not be so difficult to come to some agreement on the matter. Unfortunately, there is more to the dilemma than meets the eye.

Consider again the quotation above.

Notice that the "peace" described in the quotation is not the peace of totalitarianism. It is the peace of freedom and justice. Would you say that to defend the dignity of human life is a motive of peace and even a just cause for war? Is it moral to permit the human race, either whole or in part, to be heaped with indignities, to be humiliated at every turn, to be destroyed whenever it is convenient for the State to do so?

From the earliest days of Christianity, there have been those who, like the famous Leo Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi, and Norman Thomas, have believed that any use of military force is immoral. Yet we observe that military and police power has been necessary over the generations to preserve civilized societies -- including those who don't believe in war -- against aggression and violence. C.S. Lewis once observed that "[p]acifism . . . is taking the straight road to a world in which there will be no pacifists." In other words, for every pacifist (person who doesn't believe in war) who refuses to take up arms, some other citizen, who would also prefer to live in peace, must take his place. In so doing, the pacifist as well as the nonpacifist is being protected. If no one comes forward to replace the pacifist, then there will be no pacifists because there will be no citizens. Looking at the issue from that perspective, it can be said, perhaps, that action to stop evil is an essential part of justice, and failure to defend can be considered immoral.

While it is difficult to imagine a "moral" war, defense against aggression, protection of innocent life and rights, resistance to injury and tyranny can all be considered to constitute a reasonable and well-established right to self-defense. The problem comes when the damage inflicted and the cost incurred to protect human life constitute a greater evil than the evil to be avoided.

If it is concluded, however, that a particular totalitarian regime is evil in a special way -- as was the case under Hitler in Germany from the time of the death camps in 1941 -- do other nations then automatically assume moral responsibility for what happens? What degree of responsibility have the citizens of one nation to be keepers of the human rights belonging to people of another nation?

These are the difficult questions, but ones which you will encounter in any discussion concerning either the morality or immorality of war.

Because of the unparalleled destructive power of nuclear weapons, it is easy to be distracted from intelligent discussion. Yet, while it is true that nuclear weapons have changed our world, they have not altered the fundamentals of human existence.

To put the whole issue in perspective, consider the ancients who lived in primitive villages, towns, and countries, such as Carthage. These people believed they were "the whole world." They did not know about people who lived on the other side of the globe; they did not know they inhabited a small planet circling the sun. For them the "whole world" was destroyed suddenly in one violent sacking, pillaging, or leveling. More than once the heads of infants were smashed against stones, and other ghastly and horrible atrocities committed -- in Carthage, Israel, Moscow, Kiev, and hundreds of other places. Often plagues followed these ravages so that whole populations were wiped out partially or completely. These people had no knowledge of medicine or anesthetics to help them ease the pain of death.

Today, of course, we have a new dimension to add: the long-term effects of radioactive fallout. These new possibilities bring up two questions: Can nuclear war be prevented? If so, what strategies and tactics, what principles and ideas, are most likely to succeed?

No Place Too Remote

We can no longer afford to think that any part of this world is too far away to care about. No recent event makes this more clear than the situation in Afghanistan. Until the 1980's, the word "Afghanistan" was jokingly used to mean something very dull and far off in a distant land. In other words, if an event occurred in "Afghanistan" it wasn't worth thinking about.

In real life, however, Afghanistan has been a crossroads for conquerors: Alexander the Great, Genghis Kahn, and Tamerlane all rode across the dusty hills of Afghanistan in their quests for empire. A harsh, poverty-stricken, Texas-sized land, Afghanistan has historically been one of the seats of great power intrigue and was even once called "the turnstile of Asia." With Iran on the west, Pakistan on the south, China to the east, and a thousand-mile border shared with the Soviet Union on the north, Afghanistan has traditionally been one of those points where empires meet. Indeed it was there that Alexander the Great boasted: "I have no further worlds to conquer."

Afghanistan, then, is the key to control of a continent, and the British fought two bloody battles in the nineteenth century to deny the Russians control of it.

Today, Afghanistan is a testing ground for another, this time a Soviet Russian expansionist drive.

A Soviet-backed coup in April 1978, suddenly ousted President Mohammed Daoud, who was promptly murdered and installed in his place an anti-Western, Marxist regime under the leadership of Prime Minister Noor Mohammed Taraki. Taraki renamed his party the "Democratic Republic of Afghanistan" and adopted a new flag that was almost indistinguishable from the Soviet flag. Soon nearly every government ministry, as well as the 100,000-man Afghan Army -- had Soviet "advisers."

Immediately, Afghanistan's neighbors, Iran and Pakistan began to panic. Not only did these neighbors have geographic ties with Afghanistan, but also tribal ties. Then, less than ten months later, the Shah of Iran's regime fell, and leftist guerrillas took over the United States Embassy in Iran's capitol city, Tehran, on the same day that the U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan was dragged from his car and murdered.

The United States' reaction was simply to "keep cool," as the New York Times newspaper announced.

Meanwhile, the Moslem tribesmen in Afghanistan launched a holy war in a death struggle to retain control of their country. Armed with little more than wooden sticks and iron bars, the rebel army worked to purge its country of the Soviet invaders and actually succeeded in causing mass defections and desertions within the Soviet Army. It was indeed doubtful by late 1979 that the Soviet troops could hold out another season. Afghanistan had become the Soviets' "Vietnam."

In a sudden and carefully prepared attack, the Soviets invaded Afghanistan on Christmas Eve by airlifting thousands of Soviet troops into Afghanistan via Soviet transport planes.

Hafizullah Amin (the Soviet's Number-Two man who had had Taraki executed for failing to subdue the Afghans more quickly) was murdered along with his family, and still another Soviet puppet leader, Babrak Kamal, was put in as a replacement. He beamed his first message as "President of the Afghan people," from the Soviet Union.

Thus the Soviet Union came one country closer to achieving its goal of securing a port on the Arabian Sea and controlling the oil of the Persian Gulf.

This Soviet seizure of Afghanistan represents a continuing pattern of aggression in that region that goes back as far as 1480. And it also reminds us that no place is too remote to affect America's security.

Who Cares About Afghanistan?

Why is Afghanistan important to the United States?

Aside from the fact that the fate of 18 million people, 90 percent of them illiterate, is at stake, and aside from the fact that its geographical location is strategic, the Soviet effort in Afghanistan IS PART OF A PATTERN. That is one reason why the United States is concerned. It is only one of a series of attempts by the Soviets toward a position of overwhelming military force, using both subversion and proxy troops, to take over one country after another until they feel they can take over the whole world.

Let's look at the changes in the world just since World War II (although the Communist effort started long before that).

Examining the Communist Takeover Record

Communist regimes have taken power in Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, all of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique, Cuba, and of course Afghanistan. So far, no country that has come under communist control has escaped from that control. Hungary tried in 1956 and its citizens were massacred by the thousands in the streets. Czechoslavakia tried. Poland tried. It is a credit to the Afghan people that they are still trying, despite the most brutal sort of communist terror tactics (dropping bombs disguised as toys from airplanes for little children to pick up) to subdue all resistance.

Since 1467, Russia has expanded its own borders by an area the size of Denmark **every year**, and by an area the size of Italy **every seven years**. This does not include what is called "satellite nations," like Poland or Yugoslavia, which at least keep their own names. No nation has ever freely chosen to live under communism. No system of government has been as successful as communism at dominating other nations and less successful at

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winning the approval of the people they take over. What is more interesting is that out of the approximately 150 wars in world history, none have ever been between two free-market economies.

Lenin, one of the most revered communist leaders, once said that refugees are people who vote with their feet. In that balloting procedure, people from all parts of the world have risked life and means and family rather than to live under communism.

So the "war called peace," or World War III, came out of the Soviet seizure of Eastern Europe following World War II, followed by the conquest of China, the wars in Korea and Indochina, and the establishment of a western hemisphere outpost of Soviet power in Cuba, to the present efforts by the Soviet Union and its agents into Africa, the Middle East, and Central America. This expansionism has been accompanied by an unprecedented military buildup of the Soviet Union to the point where it has achieved supremacy over the West.

And while the well-publicized battles in Korea and Vietnam have been a part of this on-going war, there have been still other less publicized struggles -- in Italy and Portugal, for example -- to keep Communist parties from taking control there.

World War III, then, is the first truly global war because no region of the earth is beyond its reach. The United States and the Soviet Union are, of course, global powers, but whatever affects the balance between us affects that balance everywhere.

The Disparate Goals of America and Russia

A Prussian military strategist, Karl von Clausewitz, once observed that an aggressor never wants war; he prefers to enter a country unopposed.

Thus for the past third of a century, we in the West have somewhat missed the mark when we talk about the end of the world and World War III. This kind of thinking has left us open to other kinds of warfare we did not bargain for and has pressured us, once again, into a policy of never-ending appeasement toward those who make a habit of using military might against weaker nations.

A study of Soviet actions will reveal a clear pattern of exploitation to expand their own power and to weaken that of the West. Although the Soviet leadership will calculate the cost-benefit ratios, they will not fret over the sanctity of contracts, the value of human life, or "bourgeois" concepts of justice.

Some argue that the Soviets are trying to ensure their own security against what they believe to be threats from abroad. The theory goes that once the Soviets have sufficient strength to assure their security, they will back off.

There is some truth to the first part of this statement, but the trouble with the second half is that the Russian appetite for "security" is insatiable. The more the Soviets have, the more there is to protect, and since they define "security" as "domination," their security, like power itself, can only be guaranteed by the total elimination of all opposition. In the Soviet view, Russian gains can only come from the losses of others; there is no such thing as an increase in "mutual security." For the Soviets to be secure, in their view, others must be made insecure.

The Soviet leadership has no concept of "peace" as we understand it, or of "coexistence" as we define it. They do not believe in a concept of equals. An "equal" is, by their definition, a rival, to be eliminated before he eliminates you. It is on this basis that individuals rise to power within the Soviet structure.

The problem goes back to Russian history, which we will examine in greater detail in another unit. Never in Russian history has there been a tradition of compromise, of accomodation, of consensus, or even of rule of law, as we shall see in following units. Compromise, accomodation, and justice are ideas we in the West take for granted, but it is not so in that part of the world. As long as there is one country, or even one person, who might stand in opposition, the Soviets consider their security to be in jeopardy. This is the reason why the Soviet leadership permits no free press, freedom of assembly or freedom of religion in the countries they control. It is also why they reject the concept of free elections and public debate. There might be those who would oppose, or question, the the government, its causes, its methods, its ideals, and that would threaten the security of the leaders in power.

But the Soviets understand that we in the West do believe in these ideals, even though they have long predicted that any country built on them cannot endure. The Soviet leaders label the revolutions they start in weak and poverty-stricken countries around the world "wars of liberation." In this way, the leadership hopes to deceive Westerners, as well as those they plan to conquer, into thinking that Communists, too, believe in the freedom and justice of the West.

So to the Soviet leadership, anything that stands in the way of their supremacy is an adversary. And naturally their chief adversaries are going to be those who most oppose the Soviet system of values.

The existence of the United States is going to be a threat as long as people are fighting to get into our country instead of out. It is not as much our weaponry that frightens the communist leaders but our way of life. It is only natural that any government that has to resort to terror to keep people inside its borders is going to be considerably threatened by a government which is more concerned with limiting its immigration quotas than with erecting walls and barbed wire prisons.

Consequently, the communist leadership has long accepted the necessity of defeating the United States, and everything they say or do is done with the idea of undermining the West, of making it seem less attractive and more intimidating. The communists know, of course, that they cannot defeat the United States by simply waking up one morning and declaring war. Even the better-Red-than-dead elements within American society would never stand for that. Instead the communists prey upon the peace-loving nature of the West by use of disinformation techniques and "liberation wars," (discussed in more detail later on) while at the same time increasing our fears of nuclear holocaust and concentrating direct military efforts on easier marks.

"Easy marks" are those unstable and vulnerable areas of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, where, at relatively little cost and risk, the Soviets believe they can gain strategic advantages and increasing control over the world's resources, raw materials, and lifelines. From there Moscow will be ready to launch into Western Europe and Japan. Cut off from too many resources and stripped of our allies, the communists hope that the United States will no longer be in a position to defend itself or anybody else against Soviet domination.

The late Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev confided to Somalian President Siad Barre, then an ally of the U.S.S.R.: "Our aim is to gain control of the two great treasure houses on which the West depends -- the energy treasure house of the Persian Gulf and the mineral treasure house of central and southern Africa."

Keep in mind that communist strategy is not aimed directly at the United States, but rather at the United States BY WAY OF Europe and Japan. For while we are partially dependent on imported oil and strategic minerals, Europe and Japan are totally, or almost totally, dependent on overseas sources. For example, in 1980, half our oil was imported, but Europe imported 85 percent and Japan imported 100 percent. For minerals, Western Europe imported 80 percent and Japan imported 95 percent.

So while interruptions of imports would be a nuisance and inconvenience to us, it would be catastrophic for our allies.

Even if we had no stake at all in the resources of these other target nations, what weakens our allies weakens us. Why? Because, again, this is part of a pattern -- a well-orchestrated pattern. The Soviet leaders have as their goal the takeover of the economic foundations of modern society. In other words, they want to pull the plug on the Western industrial machine. The Western industrial nations' dependence on foreign sources of vital raw materials is one of our chief vulnerabilities, and this together with the inherent instability of many of the producing nations, determines Soviet strategy in such areas as the Middle

East, Africa, and Latin America. If the communists can come to power in these areas, they can not only deprive us and our allies of needed raw materials, but they can establish military regimes and military outposts to threaten us, the way they did in Cuba when they placed nuclear missiles there after the Castro-Soviet takeover. And without enough raw materials to fight them, we would have little chance to do anything about it.

An Overview of Soviet Strategy

Although Soviet-communist expansion has been relentless, it has not been reckless.

Their preferred method is to provoke disorder and chaos in a targeted country, and then move in to pick up the pieces after the established order has collapsed.

The communists are masters at the art of revolution, and they recruit and train malcontents from all over the world to do the same.

One of the professional methods the communists use is to stay out of sight while the old regime is being brought down -- sponsoring or encouraging fanatics, students, idealists, some genuine patriots, nationalists and other amateurs to do their dirty work for them. Television usually shows these amateurs storming into the streets; it doesn't show the professionals behind the scenes calling the shots and plotting the capture of the new regime.

Using attractive slogans designed to deceive the gullible and using a small but well-trained group of terrorists, they promise anything for the future as long as they can have their power now. Meanwhile their eyes are fixed on the police files, the armories, key posts in government, the malcontents within the armed services, labor unions that run crucial industries, radio stations and the press, and vacant police chief jobs. Positions are won, workers are stirred up, opponents are arrested, and finally political rivals are assassinated when it is time for the final coup.

This has been the communist recipe for revolution since long before today's leaders emerged. It is a kind of patented product which Lenin and his successors have exported to the rest of the world since 1917.

Soviet Strategy 1: Wars of "Liberation"

As indicated, communism thrives on chaos, confusion, and fear. One of the most frequent methods of generating mob action within a country is to offer the slogan of "liberation" (usually

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from foreign, and even friendly occupiers) and promises of subsequent order. In most cases of this nature, the targeted country has been a territory of a larger nation for a period of many years. For example, India was a colony of Great Britain, Laos and Vietnam were under the influence of the French, and some colonies have been under the umbrella and protection of their foreign rulers so long that they consider themselves part of that nation.

But that doesn't matter to the communists. Good rulers or bad, communist organizers tell the "outs" they will be "in" and the underdogs of a society that they will be top dog. This stirs up hatred against all foreigners, who may or may not be hostile. All the time, communist-trained professionals are aggravating tensions that already exist in a country, and introducing new ones, so that they can come in later and seize the nation with a minimum of organized resistance.

The most famous communist leader of them all, Lenin, summed up communist strategy when he said that "the soundest strategy in war is to postpone operations until the moral disintegration of the enemy renders delivery of the mortal blow both possible and easy."

The communists accomplish this strategy in three ways: first, by deception, in order to disguise their intensions; second, by paralyzing the will (in the case of the United States, by making us feel guilty about our successes and ignorant of the positive aspects of our form of government and economic system); and third, by intimidation, threats, and bluffs.

The first thing to remember, then, is that communist strategy depends, first of all, upon the ability to lie, and lie convincingly. In the words of a South Vietnamese refugee to the communists, "the lie is a legitimate and honest weapon to be used by the weak to defeat the strong."

Another favorite tactic is the bluster, or bluff. Even back when the Soviet Union was vastly inferior to the United States in terms of power and weapons, communist leaders spoke tough and threatened often.

Soviet Strategy 2: Smashing Weak Nations

Communist takeover strategy in smaller nations centers around strategic dominance. That is, the Soviets must move on those areas most likely to either disrupt or deprive the West. As indicated previously, these areas are often remote and uninteresting to most Americans, and this gives Moscow still another advantage -- disinterest on the part of the United States, a lack of will to protect its interests and shed blood for the sake of what we view as a pitiful and puny piece of real estate.

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And unlike Americans, the communist leaders understand well the colonial history and politics of the regions they seek to conquer.

For example, pre-colonial African states make little sense from America's nation-state point of view. These "states" do not correspond to natural or tribal lines; rather, they remain at wherever the armies of colonial powers halted or where European mapmakers happened to place them long ago. The resulting lack of any national unity makes democracy there nearly impossible, and internal tension is a constant fact of life. African heads of state are concerned mainly with keeping themselves in power and keeping their nations from disintegrating entirely.

This is where the Soviet-communist leadership comes in. They are masters in the art of smashing weak nations and establishing totalitarian control over the remains.

Edward Luttwack, senior fellow of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, has called today's African politics "the politics of power accumulation." In America, we are used to a "politics of prosperity." So it is hard for us to understand the game of gaining and retaining power that goes on in this poverty-stricken part of the world. Keep in mind that these nations have never known a free-market economy. Their leaders, more often than not, have no idea what free-market principles are, so it would be difficult to apply these principles to the good of their people even if they were of an inclination to change the structure of their economies to alleviate their people's suffering.

In this power struggle the Soviet Union has more to offer these emerging nations than does the United States -- or at least that's the way it looks to African leaders.

When the leaders of African nations go shopping, the Soviets offer, as former President Richard M. Nixon put it, "a tempting grab bag." The Soviet military-industrial complex runs overtime, so they always have ample supplies of weapons to offer, sometimes at bargain prices, and without delays. What is more, the Soviets don't waste African leaders' time with debates over the morality of trafficking in arms, and they offer "security experts," Cuban troops and tips from the Soviet intelligence network. Indeed, the Soviets have even shipped their clients entire proxy armies.

What do the communists ask in payment? Power.

The United States, on the other hand, often assumes that African leaders operate under the same conditions as American leaders, that they are primarily concerned with economic development for their people. Our foreign aid to these nations is based on that assumption. But the situation in Africa is such that leaders there must, or think they must, concern themselves with keeping in power, not with helping their people. The result is that Moscow and its allies in 1980 supplied more than 75 percent of the weapons going to Africa, which immediately went to massacre the same people the United States wanted to supply with goods and food.

When the United States gives aid, our leaders try to ensure that the countries to which the aid is going are not violating human rights and are working toward some kind of democratic society. The communists are not so particular. Indeed, the communist leaders don't care whether their clients are socialist, communist, or capitalist in the way they manage their economic affairs. What does matter is that these target countries exercise effective, preferably totalitarian, control over their people. The target government must be compliant, easily manipulated, and conduct its military and foreign policies in a way that serves the Soviet interest. Examples of a few of these will be detailed later on.

Soviet Strategy 3: Terrorism

An international fraternity of terrorists, with the Soviet Union at the head of the group, has enabled the Russians to engage, as Senator Henry Jackson once put it, in "warfare by remote control" all over the world. This international terrorist group extends into North Korea, Cuba, South Yemen, East Germany, Libya, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The terrorists themselves are composed of malcontents from all over the world who are trained -- many of them at Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow -- in the arts of kidnapping, assassination, sabotage, bomb making, and insurrection, and then sent off to market their trade. Their teachers are careful to keep them well supplied with weapons and to provide sanctuary when needed.

One of the most famous of those recruited by Moscow's KGB for the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University is the Venezuelen-born terrorist known as "Carlos," or "the Jackal." In The Real War Richard Nixon describes the way the Venezuelen Communist Party footed the bill for Carlos' "education," and how Carlos has since used it to kidnap for ransom eleven participants in an OPEC oil conference in 1975, and to assassinate numerous businessmen, intelligence officers, and bystanders.

But there are many others just like Carlos. There is powerful evidence that the Soviets, Libyans, and the PLO were all heavily involved in the campaign to overthrow the Shah of Iran. The anarchy that followed the fall provided the perfect environment for fanaticism and terrorism. The "students" who took over the American Embassy there and seized American hostages had been schooled in their trade and gave the term "international terrorism" new meaning.

Even while the American hostages were being held in Iran, across the Persian Gulf another terrorist attack was being staged on the holiest shrine of the Moslem world: the Grand Mosque at Mecca. The 500 who took part were led by a small group apparently trained in South Yemen, the Soviet proxy state on the Arabian peninsula. The intent: to undermine the stability of Saudi Arabia. But of course that isn't what they said. The group said their intent was religious, and they went to great and gory lengths to disguise their true origins. Nevertheless, it was uncovered that the leaders had been expertly schooled in guerrilla tactics, which enabled them to smuggle large quantities of food and modern weaponry into the Grand Mosque, take it over, and hold it for two weeks before finally being ousted by the National Guard.

While the communists may or may not have been directly responsible for the rise of fanatic Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, they are getting ready to move in and pick up the pieces when the long Iranian-Iraqi war that resulted is finally exhausted. And the communists are using the University of Kabul in their newest territory, Afghanistan, to train approximately 2000 members of the Iranian Communist Party, called "Tudek," in takeover techniques. The communists replaced the predominantly Afghan professors with Soviet professors so that today the University of Kabul is roughly 75 percent Soviet.

In similar fashion, Fidel Castro was involved in terrorist activities long before he came to Cuba and has sponsored them ever since.

Terrorism plays a key role in so-called "wars of liberation." In most cases, what originally draws people to a guerrilla organization is not love of communism, but rather hatred of foreigners. In other words, they are already fighting a foreign group. The Nazis obtained their followers by the same approach. Once, of course, the foreigners are gone, the leaders of the insurrection must somehow hold on to the population. Terror helps to maintain discipline in the organization and to preserve power for the leaders, who go on to pursue their larger goals. The more gruesome the terror, the better. A common method is forcing villagers to witness the systematic torture-killings of their leaders' families. Rural populations, especially, can be quickly intimidated into submission by this kind of barbaric activity.

In short, what the Soviet leadership and its allies in terror have done is to create an international troublemaking system that markets wholesale murder and torture for political purposes.

Consider the following statements from well-known communist leaders:

> "We are not pacifists. We are opposed to imperialist wars for the division of spoils among Capitalists, but we have always declared it to be absurd for the revolu-

tionary proletariat to renounce revolutionary wars that may prove necessary in the interests of Socialism."

V. I. Lenin
"Farewell Letter to Swiss Workers"
1917, Selected Works
International Publishers
Vol. 6, New York, p. 16.

". . . whoever expects that Socialism will be achieved without a Social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a Socialist. Dictatorship is state power based on **violence**. And in the twentieth century . . . violence means neither a fist or a club, but **troops**."

V. I. Lenin
Collected Works
Progress Publishers, Moscow
Vol 23, p. 59

"The Communist ideology -- Marxism-Leninism -- scientifically grounds the need for revolutionary destruction of Capitalism and its replacement with a Socialist and Communist social order. Thus, Communist and bourgeois ideologies are irreconcilable. . . . Lenin wrote, 'the question is only: bourgeois or Socialist ideology. There is no middle ground here.'"

Col. S. Krupnov
"V. I. Lenin on Relationships
of Ideology, Politics, and War"
Military Herald no. 3, 1970

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and Comrade Brezhnev personally are carrying out the Leninist foreign policy of our time . . . . The aim of this policy is to . . . create for decades to come favorable international conditions for the full development of the strength of world Socialism . . . ."

Herman Axen
member of Politboro and
Secretariat of the East German
Communist SED Central Committee in Prague,
ADN, the East German News Agency, Jan. 7, 1974

Why are the Soviets so bent on this confrontational approach to world affairs? How did their goals become so diametrically opposed to our own?

That is the subject of the next unit.

VOCABULARY LIST 1

NEW WORDS AND TERMS

obscure -- (adj.) unheard-of, little known

subjugated -- (v.) conquer, dominate

opportunism -- (n.) the practice of taking advantage of opportunities with little regard for the consequences; the practice of scheming and plotting

disarmament -- (n.) the act of reducing or doing away with weapons

condone -- (v.) to pardon or overlook, to treat as unimportant

proliferate -- (v.) to greatly increase in number; to multiply

dilemma -- (n.) a problem that seems incapable of a satisfactory solution

totalitarianism -- (n.) absolute control of the citizen and all society's functions -- economic, military, and social -- by a centralized and all-powerful government. A political concept of rule in which the citizen has no choices, all his choices being made by the state.

dignity -- (n.) self-respect; human dignity -- respect for the individual

aggression -- (n.) the practice of making unprovoked attacks; hostile or destructive in behavior or outlook; in politics, the practice of violating the territory of other countries

pacifism -- (n.) refusal to bear arms; opposition to war or violence as a means of settling disputes; policy of nonresistance

moral -- (adj.) relating to principles of right and wrong; ethical

constitute -- (v.) to form or compose

incur -- (v.) to bring upon oneself; to become subject to

regime -- (n.) the government in power; a period of rule

assume -- (v.) to take over as if it were one's own; to undertake

unparalleled -- (adj.) having no equal or match

fundamentals -- (n.) basics

atrocity -- (n.) action that is extremely wicked or cruel; a barbaric act strategy -- (n.) a careful plan or method of obtaining a goal

turnstile -- (n.) a revolving device set in a doorway so that only one person on foot can pass through at a time

coup -- (n.) a sudden upset; in politics, a sudden takeover

politics -- (n.) the science and art concerned with winning and holding control of government

indistinguishable -- (adj.) not clearly recognizable; lacking in unique or identifying features

ministry -- (n.) a government department; an agency

guerrilla -- (adj.) irregular warfare by independent bands, usually specializing in harassment and sabotage

subversion -- (n.) a systematic attempt to overthrow by working secretly to weaken or ruin the existing political system

proxy (troops) -- (n.) a person or group of persons acting as substitutes for another

subdue -- (v.) to conquer or bring under control

refugee -- (n.) one who flees from his own country to another to avoid persecution and escape danger

agent -- (n.) a representative of a government -- secret or otherwise; one who acts by authority from another

unprecedented -- (adj.) unlike anything before

global -- (adj.) all over the world

appeasement -- (n.) the practice of submission or nonresistance; see pacifism

exploit -- (v.) to take unfair advantage of; to impose on; to use for one's own ends

calculate -- (v.) to figure out (mathematically), or estimate

ratio -- (n.) the relationship (pro or con) between one choice or another

sanctity -- (n.) sacredness

insatiable -- (adj.) unable to be satisfied

concept -- (n.) an abstract idea; a notion not easily or simply defined coexistence -- (n.) living with and tolerating one another

rival -- (n.) someone in competition with another; v. to be in competition with

compromise -- (v.) to settle differences by making mutual concessions

accomodation -- (n.) adaptations and adjustments

ideal -- (n.) a standard of perfection or excellence

idealist -- (n.) one who conducts his affairs according to ideals (standards of perfection) instead of operating strictly on the level of reality

supremacy -- (n.) highest authority or power

adversary -- (n.) someone that opposes or resists; an enemy

intimidate -- (v.) to frighten, especially by threats

disinformation -- (n.) information designed to mislead or deceive; propoganda; lies

stable -- (adj.) firmly established, enduring or permanent; not subject to sudden changes

unstable -- (adj.) unsteady, easily fallen

vulnerable -- (adj.) easily hurt or damaged

stake -- (n.) an interest or share in the outcome of some event

industrial -- (adj.) relating to manufacturing, production, or business; relating to complex, high-tech machinery

inherent -- (adj.) belonging to something by nature or habit

relentless -- (adj.) persistent, constant, continuing without mercy

provoke -- (v.) to irritate or make angry

malcontent -- (n.) a discontented person; someone who bears a grudge as a result of a deep sense of injustice; a rebel or person who enjoys opposing the established order

nationalist -- (n.) someone who has an intense loyalty or devotion to a nation

subsequent -- (adj.) following

hostile -- (adj.) unfriendly; openly antagonistic

real estate -- (n.) property in the form of buildings and land

alleviate -- (v.) to relieve or make more bearable

economic -- (adj.) relating to the production, distribution and consumption of goods or services

trafficking -- (v.) dealing or trading, buying and selling

manipulate -- (v.) to control another person's actions by underhanded means for one's own advantage

insurrection -- (n.) a revolt or rebellion

sanctuary -- (n.) a place of refuge and protection; in wartime, a place of safety that cannot be attacked

oust -- (v.) to remove by legal action or force

fanaticism -- (n.) behavior that is frenzied and characterized by excessive enthusiasm and intense uncritical devotion to a cause

confrontational -- (adj.) argumentative, hostile or challenging behavior

diametrically opposed -- completely opposite, exactly opposite

OPEC -- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries which controls the manufacture, shipment, and sale of oil in the Middle East

immigration quota -- (n.) the number of foreigners allowed to take up residence each year in the United States

strategic advantage -- access to locations or equipment which are superior to those of another nation

strategic dominance -- complete control over locations or equipment which are superior to those of another nation

puppet state or puppet leader -- (n.) in politics, a person or government operating under the direction of another; one whose acts are controlled by an outside force or influence

colonial rule -- (n.) control by one power over a dependent area or people

emerging nations -- countries rising from an earlier position of inferiority or obscurity

VOCABULARY LESSON 1

EXERCISE A. Match up each of the words in column A with the word most closely related to it from column B. Place the part of speech next to each word you write: n. = noun, v. = verb, adj. = adjective, adv. = adverb. Be prepared to explain the meanings.

COLUMN A	COLUMN B
a. colonial	1. obscurity
b. dignity	2. atrocious
c. aggression	3. assumption
d. moral	4. pacifist
e. assume	5. nation
f. atrocity	6. provocation
g. pacifism	7. stability
h. strategy	8. immorality
i. subversion	9. dignified
j. refuge	10. confront
k. unprecedented	11. strategic
l. calculation	12. political
m. politics	13. subvert
n. supremacy	14. exploitation
o. adversary	15. immigrate
p. stable	16. economize
q. nationalist	17. colony
r. confrontational	18. adverse
s. immigration	19. insurgency
t. economic	20. miscalculate
u. insurrection	21. refugee
v. provoke	22. aggressive
w. exploit	23. precedent
x. obscure	22. supreme

EXERCISE B. Fill in the blanks using one of the words from your vocabulary list. In some cases, a different form of the word on your list will be required to make the sentence read correctly.

1. The teacher said that she could not _______________ cheating under any circumstances.

2. Adolf Hitler's generals committed many _______________ against the Jewish people in German concentration camps during World War II.

3. Hitler's _______________ ended with his defeat in World War II.

4. Someone who has a lot of money invested in a certain bank would definitely feel that he had a _______________ in its success.

5. The Woodley High School basketball team got ready to ___________ its toughest ___________________.

6. Because Sue was so _____________ every time somebody made a suggestion, no one volunteered to be on her committee. (2 choices here)

7. The builders decided that the ground was too ________________ to support the weight of a building.

8. Anyone who is elected President of the United States ___________ great responsibilities. (2 choices here)

9. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are generally considered to be the _____________ of education.

10. Slavery is the ________________ of one's fellow man in order to obtain free labor.

11. What to do about pollution is a major ______________ of our times.

12. Mark was used to ___________________ his mother into giving him everything he wanted.

13. The person who sells you a house is in the ________________ business.

14. The doctor tried to ________________ the patient's fears by saying that he had cured many people having the same disease.

15. Although the two brothers didn't get along well, they decided to _______________ until one of them could afford to get his own apartment. (2 choices here)

EXERCISE C. Select the best completion for the following sentences.

1. The puppy was insatiable because it

a. never obeyed its master b. was hungry even after being fed c. was not housebroken d. didn't have a collar

2. The policeman tried to pacify the angry motorist by

a. giving him a ticket b. threatening him with jail c. calling for more backup police d. talking to him calmly

3. An example of an emerging nation would be

a. Angola b. France c. Great Britain d. Scotland e. Ohio

4. The French ambassador's party was a unparalleled success because

a. everybody had a good time b. everyone had a terrible time c. it was the best party the French embassy had ever given d. only French-speaking people were allowed to attend

5. The teacher said that John's grades were atrocious because

a. they were all "A"s b. they were all "C"s c. they were all "F"s d. they were not computed correctly

6. People often say jokingly that wire hangers proliferate in the closet because

a. there are never any in the closet when one needs them b. there always seem to be more hangers in the closet than expected c. some people don't like wire hangers d. wire hangers ruin clothes

7. Anyone running for public office incurs many expenses because

a. there is no one to pay the bills b. too many people fail to vote c. voting is done by secret ballot d. campaigning takes a lot of money

8. If I assume that a certain person is a pacifist, it is most likely because

a. he didn't vote in the last election b. he volunteered for the Navy c. he doesn't know how to fire a gun d. he refused to have anything to do with any of the Armed Services

9. An aggressive car salesman would be one who

a. allows the customer to take his time looking around b. tries to pressure the customer into buying the first car he looks at c. suggests other automobile lines the customer might like better d. ignores the customer so he can finish his paperwork

10. A minister or Rabbi might best be described as

a. a nationalist b. an adversary c. a rival d. an idealist

11. If a customer takes a complaint to a department store's manager, a good manager will

a. try to accomodate the customer b. try to intimidate the customer c. try to provoke the customer d. try to oust the customer

12. To keep a good business, a smart store manager will always assume (whether it is true or not) that

a. the customer is always right b. the customer is insatiable c. the customer is an idiot d. the customer is vulnerable

13. When an individual is sometimes referred to as unstable, it means that he seems to be

a. brilliant b. idealistic c. a malcontent d. mentally unbalanced

14. Investigators are trying to determine the cause of an airplane crash. Any of the following might be the reason EXCEPT

a. an inherent flaw in the materials used to build the plane b. human error c. a miscalculation on the part of the pilot d. an attempted coup by armed guerrilla warriors e. unstable weather conditions f. taking off from an industrial city

15. If the police confront a suspect with the evidence of some crime, they are hoping that he will

a. try to compromise b. admit to committing the crime c. exploit the officers d. flee to a sanctuary

EXERCISE C. Match the words in column A with their OPPOSITES (ANTONYMS) from column B.

a. appease	1. globalist
b. idealist	2. friendly
c. relentless	3. merciful
d. nationalist	4. provoke
e. subsequent	5. partner
f. obscure	6. previous
g. rival	7. realist
h. hostile	8. famous

UNIT REVIEW 1

REVIEW EXERCISE A. Mark each statement true or false. Be prepared to give your reason for each choice.

__________ 1. Afghanistan is an industrialized nation.

__________ 2. The Soviet Union has a long-standing policy of coexisting with neighboring countries.

__________ 3. The Persian Gulf is important to the United States because raw materials and other goods are transported through.

__________ 4. The Soviet Union has a history of compromise.

__________ 5. The Soviet Union has lost more of its citizens through warfare than the United States.

__________ 6. For the Soviet leaders to feel secure within their own borders, they believe leaders of other nations must be made insecure.

__________ 7. The American concept of justice is both historical and traditional.

__________ 8. The communists exploit the peace-loving nature of Americans.

__________ 9. The Soviet leaders really are afraid we will try to conquer them.

__________ 10. "Easy marks" for Soviet domination include parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Great Britain.

__________ 11. The communists prefer not to attack the United States directly.

__________ 12. African nations are clearly divided to reflect tribal "states."

__________ 13. The goal of Soviet strategy is to cut off the West's raw materials and supplies so that it cannot function.

__________ 14. The communists specialize in overthrowing other governments.

__________ 15. Most of Africa is extremely poor.

__________ 16. A few nations have freely chosen communism as their form of government.

__________ 17. Democracies have frequently fought one another.

__________ 18. The Soviet Union is still way behind the United States in terms of military might.

__________ 19. Pacifists favor a policy of appeasement.

__________ 20. The Soviets worry about the morality of selling weapons to small, unstable nations.

REVIEW EXERCISE B. Multiple Choice. Select the best completion for the following sentences to test your understanding of the unit.

1. Soviet strategy involves all of the following EXCEPT

a. deception b. disinformation c. compromise d. bluffing e. intimidation

2. The strategy of strategic dominance is used by the communists to

a. disrupt or deprive the West of the things it needs b. increase their own areas of control c. to protect the people who live in various regions around the globe d. to improve trade relations e. two of the above f. three of the above

3. African politics depends on

a. the leaders' ability to feed and clothe their people b. the leaders' ability to sell their products c. the leaders' ability to improve the economy of their nations d. the leaders' ability to increase their power

4. The problems of Africa include all of the following EXCEPT

a. extreme poverty b. a free-market economy c. racial and tribal warfare d. leaders who must place power before the good of their people

5. In 1980, Moscow supplied more than ______________ the weapons going to Africa.

a. half b. 10 percent c. three-fourths d. all

6. The Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow is a

a. general-studies university b. religious college c. terrorist-training institution d. fine arts school

7. Fanatics can be useful to the communists because

a. they don't consider the consequences of their actions b. their enthusiasm for a goal blinds their common sense c. they often create serious conflicts in a country d. all of the above

8. Communist "wars of liberation" are intended to

a. free the people of a region from foreign rulers b. help people who were once ruled by another power to set up their own government c. liberalize laws and increase trade with the Soviet Union d. overturn and replace an existing government with a communist government

9. The "war called peace" refers to

a. World War III b. an ongoing conflict which the communists pretend is peace c. a continual battle involving not just war weapons but psychological weapons d. a series of conflicts around the globe which are really a part of something much larger e. all of the above f. two of the above

10. If you had to come up with a motto to describe the Soviet-communist idea of good international relations, the most appropriate one would be

a. "Good triumphs over evil." b. "Love conquers all." c. "Might makes right." d. "Honesty pays."

EXERCISE D. Complete the following sentences with the correct information.

1. The Soviet Union exploits weaker nations by

2. World War III is the first truly global war because

3. Since 1939, the Soviet Union has taken over

4. We know that Iran is targeted for communist takeover because

5. Afghanistan has been referred to as "the turnstile of Asia" because

6. When Lenin commented that "refugees are people who vote with their feet," he meant that

7. The Soviet takeover of Afghanistan is part of a pattern because

8. The Soviet leaders use proxy troops to

9. One reason why the United States has to worry about immigration quotas is because

10. An inherently unstable nation is one which

EXERCISE E. ACTIVITY -- On a map, trace the national boundaries of each of the African and Middle Eastern countries. On another map, shade in the areas representing Russian or Soviet territory beginning with the map for 1919.

UNIT 1 EXAM

PART A. Answer the following questions to demonstrate your understanding of the unit.

1. In what ways is the Soviet Union opportunistic in its methods?

2. Why do the communists call the conflicts they support "wars of liberation"?

3. Why can't the United States simply disarm to prove its good intentions?

4. What is the difference between the "politics of prosperity" and the "politics of power accumulation"?

5. Why did Iran and Pakistan worry when the Soviets launched a coup into Afghanistan in 1978?

6. What is "the war called peace"?

7. What is the goal of an appeasement policy?

8. Why does the existence of the United States threaten the Soviet communists?

9. Why are the nations of Africa and the Middle East vulnerable?

10. What are some of the things that make a nation stable?

PART B. Describe three major differences in outlook or viewpoint between the Soviet Union and the United States.

PART C. List 10 countries which have been taken over by the Soviet Union since World War II.

PART D. Multiple Choice. Select the best answer to complete the following statements.

1. When the United States gives aid to a foreign country, our leaders expect that that country will

a. use the aid to work toward a democratic society b. use the aid to help alleviate suffering c. use the aid to conduct military raids on neighboring villages d. use the aid to buy proxy armies e. three of the above f. two of the above

2. When the Soviet Union gives aid to a foreign nation, its leaders hope that

a. the aid will be used for economic development b. the aid will be used to further chaos in the nation c. the foreign country will become dependent on the Soviets for future aid d. the aid will go to promote revolution e. two of the above f. three of the above

3. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is part of

a. an oil-producing group b. the Soviet Union c. an international terrorist group d. a real estate company

4. The communists promise all of the following to countries they want to take over EXCEPT

a. the underdogs will be "top dog" b. the rulers will be supplied with weapons c. the people will be wealthy d. the people will be liberated from colonial rule e. order will be established

5. The "politics of power accumulation" can include all of the following EXCEPT

a. a high employment rate b. plenty of weapons c. armies d. additional territory

6. It would be difficult for the United States to help African leaders reverse the poverty levels of their nations because

a. some African leaders are not interested in their people's welfare b. African leaders believe they can do nothing if they cannot even stay in power c. African leaders generally have no experience with or understanding of free-market principles d. most of the populations in African nations are illiterate e. all of the above f. none of the above

7. The communists had their puppet, Prime Minister of Afghanistan Noor Mohammed Taraki, executed because

a. he was not loyal to the communist cause b. he failed to raise the Afghan standard of living c. he was a foreigner d. he did not subdue the Afghan people fast enough

8. An idealist becomes a fanatic only when

a. the end becomes more important than the means b. when he speaks out on difficult issues c. when he writes articles for a newspaper d. when he supports a candidate for public office

9. A Marxist regime is one that

a. supports the communists b. supports the Americans c. supports free-market principles d. is anti-Western e. a and d of the above f. b and c of the above

10. Television is often helpful to the communists because

a. it shows too many acts of violence b. it provokes disorder in a targeted country c. spends too much time reporting the news d. it fails to show professional organizers who are behind demonstrations and revolts

UNIT TWO

THE WORLD THE WAY IT WAS: A HISTORY OF RUSSIA AND COMMUNISM

Communism became the force it is today by historical accident -- because the first country whose system took that name was Russia. Soviet Russia is a peculiar and fascinating blend of past and present, and an insight into its history is essential to an understanding of the Soviet Union today.

The Means To an End: Old Russia

The answer to many puzzles of Soviet behavior has its roots in the Tsars, or Czars (the Russian word for Caesar), the autocratic rulers of Russia until the 1917 revolution, when Lenin came to power.

Although the Tsars are all dead, their ideas live on in the halls of the Kremlin. Indeed, in many respects the revolution that brought the communists to power in Russia represented a refinement of the old tsarist ways. Russia has always been an expansionist power. And except for a few brief months in 1917, it has always been either an authoritarian or totalitarian state. There simply is no tradition in the Soviet Union of internal freedom or any policy of nonagression.

If we take the trouble to study history, it shows the course along which nations are propelled by their peculiar combination of interests, traditions, ambitions, and opportunities. It shows the directions in which the momentum of past events continues to move us today.

Seven centuries ago two great events took place that set the courses of two civilizations. In England in 1215 rebellious nobles forced King John to sign the Magna Carta. From this document rose the concept of constitutional monarchy, and eventually the structure of individual liberties and democratic self-government that was transported to the New World, where it flourished in the United States.

As this first step toward democracy was being taken in England, however, the grandsons of Genghis Khan were sweeping westward along the Eurasian plain, which extends from the eastern parts of Siberia to the shores of the English Channel. These Mongol hordes stopped short of Europe, but they laid waste to Russia and reduced civilization there to a barbarous level. For almost 250 years -- longer than the United States has been in existence -- the Mongols kept the Russians impoverished and in bondage.

These two events, the signing of the Magna Carta and the subjugation of Russia by the pillaging Mongols, marked the starting points of two drastically different chains of historical development.

Our Bill of Rights traces its origin to the Magna Carta. The Soviet secret police traces its origin to the Mongols. An ancient Russian saying sums it up: **"Despotism tempered by assassination -- there is our Magna Carta."**

The Mongols ruled by ruthless terror, a complex bureaucracy, and manipulation of local rivalries; they also imposed a crushing tax. The native rulers of Moscow began to adopt Mongol techniques, first by taking on the role of tax collectors for the Mongols. Gradually they brought more and more lands under their own control, even while they were working slavishly for the Mongols. Finally, after the nearly 250 years of bondage, in 1480 Ivan the Great ended the Mongol rule. But its imprint remained. In the words of a famous nineteenth-century writer:

> The bloody mire of slavery . . . forms the cradle of Muscovy, and modern Russia is but a metamorphosis of Muscovy . . . . It is in the terrible and abject school of Mongolian slavery that Muscovy was nursed and grew up. It gathered strength only by becoming [expert] in the craft of serfdom. Even when emancipated, Muscovy continued to perform its traditional part of the slave as master.

The author of those words was Karl Marx, father of what became the communist dialectic, or bible, the Communist Manifesto, written in 1848 with the help of Frederic Engels.

Even after the Mongols were technically ousted, their terror continued, as year after year their cavalries would sweep through the towns and villages to seize slaves. To fight off the Mongol slavers, Russian men were called up every spring to take their battle places along the frontier, and were kept there until fall, when the climate made it impossible for the Mongols to get through. This was repeated every year of a man's entire lifetime.

This brutal way of life -- the ruthless marshalling of all resources for the purposes of the State, the constant and unremitting warfare -- are deep in the Russian spirit.

Meanwhile the Duchy of Muscovy, as the ruler of Moscow was called then, spent those two centuries before Ivan the Great ended Mongol rule expanding power over its neighbors. He more than tripled the lands under Moscow's rule.

It was another Ivan, this time Ivan the Terrible, who a century later was crowned the first "Tsar of all Russias." His reign marked the beginning of Russian imperial rule.

In the seventeenth century Russia conquered Siberia. The feared Cossack warriors and fur traders swept 2,500 miles across the wilderness in fifty-five years, reaching the Pacific Ocean in 1639. From the frozen north, then, Russians pushed south across Central Asia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries toward China, Persia, India, and Afghanistan. Millions of Moslems fell under the Tsars.

But two continents were still not enough. Russia sought to occupy a third: North America. In 1741, Captain Vitus Behring, a Danish navigator in the service of Russia who gave his name to the Behring straights -- the narrow channel of water between what is today the Soviet Union and Alaska. The United States bought Alaska from the Russians in 1867. Indeed the Russians once had a settlement and fort 60 miles from present-day San Francisco, near what is now called Russian River. The local Alaskan authority when the U.S. purchased the territory was called the Russian-American Company, which tried but failed to gain a foothold in the Hawaiian Islands.

At the same time, Russia was pressing its expansion in two other directions. In the nineteenth century it conquered the Caucasus -- gateway to Persia, Turkey and the Middle East. It also pushed westward against Europe, where it encountered its most formidable foes.

In terms of territory, Russia dwarfs the countries of Europe, but for centuries it found itself threatened and occasionally overwhelmed by smaller but technologically superior powers. Russia was invaded by Poland in the seventeenth century, by Sweden in the eighteenth, by France under Napolean in the nineteenth, and finally twice by Germany in the twentieth. Each time the Russians suffered staggering defeats.

This threat from farther West caused them to "Westernize," but westernization took the form only of modernizing their military.

It was Peter the Great, Tsar from 1682 to 1725, who systematized the importation of modern techniques from the West and made Russia a modern power on a par with the countries of Europe. But Peter wanted Western techniques, not Western government or culture. "For a few score years we shall need Europe," Peter said. "Then we can turn our backs on her."

The Tsars who have been given the title "the Great" earned it for military conquests. Peter was no exception. After he got what he wanted from the West, he warred with Sweden, Turkey, and Persia for twenty-eight consecutive years. He made it possible, through modernization of techniques, for his successors to successfully assault the West.

The next "Great," Catherine, ruled from 1762 to 1796 and started the move toward Central Europe. It was her ministers who gave the classic warning: "That which ceases growing begins to rot." She secured for Russia a permanent place on the Black Sea.

Next, Russia took advantage of the chaos caused by the Napoleonic wars to seize Finland. Russian armies drove deep into Central Europe, extending Russia's borders to within 200 miles of Berlin. When the dust had settled, Russia was the predominant military power on the continent.

After the Tsars

In the mid-nineteenth century, Russia's relentless expansion drew a baleful notice from a New York *Tribune* correspondent in Europe, who had no idea that future Russian expansionism would be pursued in his name: Karl Marx. On June 14, 1853, Marx wrote a piece for the *Tribune* in which he pointed out that in just sixty years, the Russian frontier had advanced toward Berlin, Dresden, and Vienna 700 miles; toward Constantinople 500 miles; toward Stockholm 630 miles; and toward Tehran 1,000 miles.

And it did not stop with the Tsars.

What is today the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" is the product of seven centuries of conquest, first by the Dukes of Muscovy as they subjugated what became Russia, then by the Tsars and their twentieth-century successors as they expanded the Russian empire. Fifteen "Soviet Socialist Republics" make up the U.S.S.R.; fourteen of those are essentially separate nations that were conquered by the fifteenth, Russia.

The Russian general who conqured Turkestan and captured Tashkent, General Skobelev, summed up the Russian theory of conquest: "In Asia he is master who seizes people pitilessly by the throat." That, not a Continental Congress or a Constitutional Convention, is the way that the "socialist republics" were formed into a "union."

In America, people representing many nationalities came here voluntarily. But whole nations, land and all, were absorbed by the Russian empire and are kept there by force. As former President Richard Nixon put it, "We have Armenians and Lithuanians; they have Armenia and Lithuania."

Except for the opening of Siberia, these were not settlements of empty lands. Nor were they an extension of colonial rule over primitive peoples, as was the case in the Americas with certain tribes of Indians. The Russian invasions were conquests, with subjugation of ancient nations with highly developed cultures, distinct identities and long histories.

The tsarist tradition is one of brute, autocratic rule. Only a very powerful state could organize the conquest of so many nations and keep them subjugated for so long.

The first "Tsar of all Russia," Ivan the Terrible, was also the first Tsar to make use of terror as a state policy. The origins of both the tsarist secret police and today's KGB can be traced to him. Ivan used his own private secret police to eliminate rivals for power, especially among the Russian nobility. He made sure they would never come to him with anything like a Magna Carta.

At one point Ivan attacked Novgorod, one of his own cities, and put to death thousands of his own subjects by such means as "impaling, flayling alive, boiling, roasting, frying in gigantic skillets . . . and most mercifully, drowning." For a time he actually put half of Russia under the direct rule of his secret police, establishing, quite literally, a police state under his personal control, a method later favored by Joseph Stalin in this century. Stalin, in fact, admired Ivan the Terrible and made a point of having his reputation rehabilitated in Soviet history books.

Peter the Great, remembered as the great modernizer for his openings to the West, was one of the most despotic rulers at home. He once described himself as "an absolute monarch who does not have to answer for any of his actions to anyone in the world." It was also he who instituted the hated internal passport system, which made it illegal for most people to move about their own country without permission.

In our own century, Joseph Stalin extended Russian rule over vast new territories. Countries that had broken free from the Russian empire in the aftermath of the Russian revolutions were reconquered by Stalin. In 1940, while World War II was heating up elsewhere, Stalin retook the Baltic states -- Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia -- and seized two additional areas from Romania. At the end of World War II, he captured all of Poland, and Hungary, Czechoslavakia, Bulgaria, and Romania itself fell under Russian rule for the first time.

Like Ivan the Terrible, Stalin created his own private secret police and employed terror as a basic instrument of policy. During 1937-1938, Stalin executed 40,000 people per month -- over 1,000 a day for two full years.

As the Russian conflict with the West has its roots deep in the past, so does Russia's conflict with China. The Chinese and the Russians fought their first battle in 1652. By the middle of the nineteenth century, China had weakened, and Russia was able to seize about 650,000 square miles of their land -- an area equivalent to all the states along the East and West Coasts of the United States combined. In 1860 the Treaty of Peking gave the Russians undisputed title to a seaport in their new territory, which they named Vladivostok -- meaning Rule of the East. By the eve of the Russian Revolution the Russian sphere of influence in China was estimated at about 42 percent of Chinese territory.

Consequently, after the Russian Revolution, the Chinese looked with hope to the new communist regime, which promised to treat all nations with new respect. But in just three years, in 1921, Russia's encroachments on China resumed. The Red Army marched in, and Mongolia, which had been a part of China for centuries, became the first Soviet satellite. Former promises were repudiated. In 1929 the Soviet Union and China fought an undeclared war in Manchuria in which 10,000 Chinese were killed. The Chinese province of Sinkiang became a "virtual Soviet colony" during the 1930s. And so on it goes.

The most costly failure in history is thought by some to have been the failure to stop Lenin's seizure of power in Russia in 1917. It was a tragedy for the Russian people and the world.

Long before the last Tsar was overthrown there were forces of change at work, and Russia was just beginning to absorb something more from the West than military technology. If that process had not been interrupted and diverted, Russia might, like Japan, have become a free and prosperous part of the Western world.

Early in the nineteenth century, for example, the ideals of the French Revolution penetrated Russia as Napoleon's army marched to Moscow and the Russian army pursued it back to Paris. Western ideas produced a flowering of culture and some measure of enlightenment in a hitherto harsh and sullen land. This led to some outstanding accomplishments in science, the arts, and literature. It was the era of Tolstoy, Pushkin, and Dostoevsky. Even though the subject matter of Russian literature was almost entirely dominated by warfare and poverty, there was also a beauty and sensitivity not previously found. Even in the political realm, Tsar Alexander II abolished serfdom in 1861; censorship was eased, and trial by jury was introduced. The term of duty in the army was shortened from 20 years to six.

But just as these seeds of a more liberated society began to sprout, they were crushed by those who were more concerned with destroying the old society than with building a better one.

In 1881 this same Tsar Alexander II was assassinated by a group calling itself The People's Will. Seven years later, several young dissidents plotted the assassination of the new Tsar. They were discovered and one of them nobly stepped forward at their trial and tried to take the blame for all. He was a twenty-one-year-old named Alexander Ulyanov. Officials were sufficiently impressed with this act of courage to petition the Tsar for mercy, which was refused. Ulyanov was hanged and his family shamed. Ulyanov's younger brother, Vladamir, was seared by these events to the point where he blamed the entire liberalized society for his brother's death and his family's subsequent disgrace. Years later he took another name: Lenin.

Modern Russia

When Lenin came to power, all the impressive gains that the liberalizing forces had made -- including a parliament, land reform and some individual land ownership -- were overturned.

Lenin's "Bolsheviks" abandoned any willingness to learn from the world and reverted back to the terrorism of Ivan the Terrible and the expansionist policies of Catherine. And they seized upon Karl Marx's writings to build their new society.

Forced labor camps, mass executions, the Cheka secret police, artificially created famines while needed grain was sent to the West in payment for industrial materials: all these and more were part of the new regime. In the same towns where people were starving to death, huge stockpiles of grain, "State reserves," were being shipped overseas.

Lenin's successor, Stalin, had executed 70 percent of the senior officers in the Russian Army, and 98 out of 130 Central Committee members were killed in 1930. After World War II, millions of former prisoners of war who had been returned to the Soviet Union were sent to forced labor camps "because they had seen the West." Stalin was as determined to defeat Western ideas as he was to defeat Western armies.

All told, the poor Russian people have never known more than hardship and lack. In World War I the Russians lost half their male population under arms. In World War II, again half the male population was lost -- 5 million killed and 11.5 million wounded. Total Russian deaths in World War II are estimated at 20 million.

But the enduring of constant slaughter and suffering can make a nation both ambitious and formidable, and what threatens the world today is not merely a theoretical idea called "communism" or "Marxism," although these would be bad enough, but an expansionist, ambitious totalitarian force that borders on fanaticism.

While it is true that dialectic Marxism denies both the human soul and human rights, its coauthor, Karl Marx, died thirty-four years before his "Marxism" became the official doctrine of the Russian state. He and Engels never saw their teachings "interpreted" into a rationale for Soviet conquest and tyranny.

What the Soviet-communist leadership has done, in essence, is to use Marxism as an historically-"proven" mandate for change. According to Marxism, "stability" or "normalization" of relations contradicts the mandatory forward progress of socialism. For socialism to succeed and be compatible with the security of the Soviet Communist Party and state, it must be controlled by the Kremlin, which promises to crush all opposition.

So after 1917 (Lenin's rise to power), the techniques of the tsarist secret police were taken over by communist revolutionaries and the vastly more powerful KGB was created. The Russian tradition of militarism was combined with communist techniques of subversion, which produced a new danger to other countries of the world. Moscow proclaimed that it was Russia's "duty" under Marxism to liberate the "capitalist" world.

Communist leaders since Stalin, who died in 1953 after more than a quarter-of-a-century rule, have been somewhat less brutal than their predecessor and somewhat more sophisticated and mannerly, but the power structure remains, the absolute dictatorship remains, and the expansionist policies remain. Those who get to the top in the Soviet system do so by being more ruthless, brutal, and cunning than their rivals. Lenin himself declared in 1920 that the "scientific concept of dictatorship means neither more nor less than unlimited power, resting directly on force, not limited by anything, not restricted by any laws, nor any absolute rules." His successor, Stalin, was schooled in Leninist ideology and killed nearly a million people per year in the quarter century of his rule. His successors, Krushchev and Brezhnev, former President Richard Nixon writes, "served their apprenticeships not by distributing food stamps or serving in the Peace Corps, but by efficiently eliminating those whom Stalin saw as threats to his power."

World Wars I and II did essentially two things for the Soviets. They destroyed European-made world order so that the communists were able to come to power in Russia and China, and they destroyed the five great containing powers that had kept Russia penned in.

But the two World Wars also did something else: they catapulted the United States into world politics before it was quite ready to assume a world leadership role.

Former President Richard Nixon notes in his book, The Real War, that "[f]or the United States the twentieth century has meant the end of innocence. For Europe it has meant the end of empire. For the peoples of Russia, China, and more than a dozen other countries it has meant the horrors of communist rule. For the rulers of the Soviet Union it has meant the end of the great power constraints that had previously kept Russian expanionism in check."

In what ways was the United States "innocent"?

For one thing, we viewed ourselves as being on a large island, protected on two sides by a larger ocean and bordered on the north and south by more-or-less friendly neighbors. Because we had large land mass and excellent resources, Americans felt confident in pursuing an isolationist policy toward the world. The gist of this policy was that we would stay out of everyone else's business if they would stay out of ours. The only exception was to be some trading, buying, and selling between our nations. We didn't pay attention to the ramifications of various political situations abroad; as Nixon put it, "we approached World War II as if it were a sporting match with no other goal but victory." But Winston Churchill in Great Britain and Joseph Stalin in Russia were not so undiscerning. They were looking at the political aftermath of Hitler's defeat. Stalin won out, and was able to make a clean sweep through Eastern Europe and position his armies to begin new advances.

Americans were unfamiliar with how to deal with various peoples of the world and unaccustomed to power on a global scale. We had to learn quickly, and it has been a difficult process. America was used to looking with disdain on the conflicts in Europe. We were somehow under the illusion that our own security was assured simply because ours was a democratic system.

We didn't understand, even though we had interests in foreign lands, that the Straits of Hormuz needed to be protected because it was the entrance to the Persian Gulf. We realized, but didn't think it important, that the Persian Gulf was necessary to ensure the free exportation of oil there, or that sixty percent of Europe's oil moves by sea from the Persian Gulf. We didn't realize how important foreign oil was to the rest of the world, and as a consequence, how important other nations' well-being in that region was to our own.

Even the resource-rich United States depends heavily on imports for several of the basic materials vital to its economy.

A good example is the resource chromium. Most people think of chromium as being the fancy trim on automobiles. But it also means ball bearings and precision instruments. A single jet aircraft requires more than 3,600 pounds of chromium, and if we don't have it, we won't have good quality engines. Stainless steel cannot be made without chromium. Indeed, over the long term, our need for chrome is greater even than for petroleum.

Our domestic supplies of chromium are small in quantity and low in grade quality; 92 percent must be imported. Of the world's known reserves of chromium, 96 percent are in the Union of South Africa and Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

This is the reason the Soviets are so interested in southern Africa. Not only is chromium at stake, but also Zairean copper and cobalt, South African gold, diamonds, and manganese, and platinum metals. The Soviets already control the ports in Angola and Mozambique. If South Africa were to fall, they would control the sea lanes around the Cape of Good Hope through which 70 percent of the strategic raw materials and 80 percent of the oil needed by European NATO powers flow.

For obvious reasons, then, the Soviets are exploiting South Africa's already serious racial problems. If they could bring about a military confrontation or race war there, the Soviets would have plenty of shattered pieces to pick up.

The Soviet Union's crushing of Afghanistan in 1978 put them within 300 miles of the Straits of Hormuz, and the battle for the oil stores has indeed begun. One after another, nations around the Persian Gulf have fallen to revolutionary forces that are mostly anti-Western if not entirely pro-Soviet.

Some Americans still wonder what possible effect tribal wars and conflicts in Africa can have on us here in the United States.

Let's look at Ethiopia, for which American entertainers in 1985 raised fantastic sums to ease a massive famine.

Until September 1974, Ethiopia was a good friend of the West. Under Emperor Haile Selassie, it had been one of the closest friends of the United States in black Africa. But for years the Russians had watched as Cuba and others fueled conflicts in Eritrea -- a northeastern province of Ethiopia, just across the Red Sea from Saudi Arabia.

In a devastating famine in 1974, the military overthrew our friend Selassie and established a revolutionary government. The new rulers cut ties with the West and warmed to Moscow. Once into Africa this far, the Soviets dropped the Eritreans and took away their Cuban support. This move cost the communists something, but it gave them something more important than what they lost. They had traded a country of three million for one ten times its population; they gained the Ethiopian port of Massawa, where they immediately started plans on a new and strategically located base.

Meanwhile, the Ethiopian regime needed a constant inflow of Soviet weaponry simply to survive against its neighbors, not to mention needing thousands of Cuban and Soviet personnel. Now the Ethiopian people are starving in still another famine, while resources are squandered on Soviet-inspired militaristic adventures calculated to generate more unrest in the area. Whether or not the thousands of well-intentioned dollars American entertainers raised in their "Live Aid" concert will ever actually go to feed Ethiopia's starving masses remains to be seen.

Using Cuban troops, then, transported with Soviet aircraft, Moscow has been leapfrogging national boundaries to strike deep in the heart of Africa. As European colonialism disappears, Soviet imperialism moves in to replace it -- in Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, and South Yemen.

If the Soviets continue to succeed in the penetration of Africa, it will have come a long way in its larger strategy of encircling the world "city" -- of cutting off the industrialized West from the resources without which it cannot survive, much less maintain the current high standards of living.

Similarly, if Korea is overrun with communists, the Soviets would be in position to go for Japan.

Turkey is another time bomb. This country has no oil and is not an important source of raw materials or goods for us, but it shares borders with Iran, Syria, Iraq -- and the Soviet Union. It controls the entrance to the Black Sea and the eastern entrance to the Mediterranean. It provides one-third of NATO's sixty-six divisions.

Turkey has also been the target of Russian aggression for many centuries. Like so many other countries we have discussed, Turkey has staggering economic problems, is torn by religious strife, is imperiled by radical political groups, and has a weak and unstable government. In other words, it is ripe for communist subversion.

Summarizing the Russian Experience

Some believe that we in America can trade a country here and a country there for a few more years of ease and comfort. Optimists challenge that if we are nice to the communists they will see us as no threat and their policies will change. But through history, the Soviets have made very clear what they want. We want peace, and they know that, too.

Two important understandings, then, emerge from this look at Russian history. First the Soviet system is ruled by the sword, while ours is ruled by the human spirit. That is, their system has spread by conquest; ours has spread by example.

The second understanding was well put by a young Soviet historian named Andrei Amalrik, who observes that ideas about self-government, equality before the law, and personal freedom "are almost completely incomprehensible to the Russian people ... As for respecting the rights of the individual as such, the idea simply arouses bewilderment."

To most Americans, the Russian experience is incomprehensible. Our attitude is: "I wouldn't put up with it," or "People simply can't live that way." But they do, and this is the point we must grasp before we can go about considering appropriate and workable responses to the nuclear challenge.

VOCABULARY LIST 2

NEW WORDS AND TERMS

tsar -- (n.) (also spelled "czar.") ruler of Russia

authoritorian -- (adj.) a government policy which concentrates power in one leader or small group of leaders who are not constitutionally responsible to the people. Also, a person who favors blind submission to authority

monarchy -- (n.) undivided rule by a single person, often a hereditary chief of state with life position and powers varying from insignificant to absolute

bureaucracy -- (n.) system of government departments and bureaus which hire personnel to serve elected officials

metamorphosis -- (n.) transformation; a drastic change of structure or appearance

serfdom -- (n.) slavery

State -- (n.) the government of a nation

formidable -- (adj.) very difficult

imperialism -- (n.) the practice of extending power over another nation, especially by gaining indirect control over the political or economic life of that country

indirect -- (adj.) not direct; not obvious; underhanded

baleful -- (adj.) gloomy, expecting the worst

autocratic -- (adj.) absolute rule, not answerable to anyone

repudiate -- (v.) to refuse to acknowledge; to reject as untrue

dissident -- (n.) someone who disagrees; someone who stands in opposition

rationale -- (n.) an underlying reason or explanation

mandatory -- (adj.) required; compulsory

ideology -- (n.) a system of beliefs or ideas (see ideal and idealist, Vocabulary Lesson/Unit One)

isolationist -- (n.) someone who believes in a policy of isolation and noninterference; that is, staying completely away from the affairs of other nations and maintaining no alliances with them ramifications -- (n.) consequences

undiscerning -- (adj.) lacking in insight, perceptiveness, or judgment, unable to understand things clearly

disdain -- (n.) disapproval; contempt

illusion -- (n.) a false impression

despotism -- (n.) a system of government in which the ruler has unlimited power and absolute control

impoverished -- (adj.) desperately poor

satellite -- (n.) in politics, a country politically and economically dominated by another more powerful country. (Compare colonial rule.)

liberalize -- (v.) to loosen or ease; to make less strict

dialectic -- (adj.) an intellectual investigation, an official and systematic reasoning process: usually applied to Marxism or communism

Marxism -- (n.) the theories of Karl Marx, which are based on the assumption that matter is more important than mind and that man has no divine origin or soul. The theories of Marx became the basis for the theory of communism

communism -- (n.) in theory, a form of government in which private ownership of property is done away with and the means of production are owned by everybody in a classless society; in reality, communism is a totalitarian government in which a single autocratic group controls the means of production with the excuse that it is working to establish a classless society

subversion -- (n.) a systematic attempt to overthrow a country's government by working secretly inside that country to weaken or destroy its political and economic foundations

capitalism -- (n.) an economic system based on free-market principles, with private ownership of property and the means of production

NATO -- North Atlantic Treaty Organization composed of countries which are all allies of the United States

manipulation -- (n.) control over another person's or nation's actions by underhanded means (see Vocabulary Unit 1)

EXERCISE A. Match each of the words in column A with the word most closely related to it from column B. Place the abbreviation for the part of speech next to each word you write: n. = noun, v. = verb, adj. = adjective, adv. = adverb. Be prepared to explain any differences in meaning.

a. monarchy
b. authoritarian
c. serfdom
d. ideology
e. imperialism
f. autocratic
g. rationale
h. dissident
i. mandatory
j. isolationist
k. despotism
l. communism
m. capitalism
n. manipulation
o. bureaucracy

1. commune
2. mandate
3. despot
4. capital
5. monarch
6. ideal
7. manipulate
8. authority
9. rationalize
10. autocrat
11. isolate
12. imperialist
13. dissent
14. bureacucrat
15. serf

EXERCISE B. Explain the similarities and differences between each of the following word pairs.

1. authoritarian, totalitarian

2. autocratic, despotic

3. ideal, ideology

4. Marxism, communism

5. subversion, manipulation

6. colony, satellite

EXERCISE C. Fill in the blank by selecting the best word from your vocabulary list. In some cases, a different form of the word may be necessary from the one that appears on your list.

1. It is ______________ that everyone under the age of 16 attend school.

2. The student's poor oral report brought a _____________ glare from the teacher.

3. The _______________ behind compulsory school attendance is that all citizens in a free society need a basic education for self-government to work.

4. The Oakwood High football team will take on its most ______________ opponent next Saturday.

5. The witness ________________ everything she had told the police once she got to court.

6. An ________________ population is going to worry about where the next meal is coming from before they think about who they will vote for.

7. A fanatic tends not to consider the ________________ of his actions.

8. Magicians are masters of ______________.

9. Back in the Middle Ages, the lowest class of feudal society was the ____________, who was bound to carry out the wishes of the lord.

10. Queen Elizabeth of England is the ruling ______________ of Great Britain.

11. The _______________ of a caterpillar into a butterfly is one of the most amazing occurrences in nature.

12. The Department of Education is part of our government ____________.

13. According to communist __________________, socialism must eventually replace __________________.

14. France, England, and the United States are all part of ________.

UNIT 2 REVIEW

REVIEW EXERCISE A. Select the best answer from the choices listed to complete the following sentences.

1. We study history because

a. it is good practice to memorize dates and places b. it shows how the nations of the world got to be the way they are c. it helps us to defeat communism d. it shows how past events continue to influence us today e. a and d above f. b and d above

2. The Mongols ruled the Russians in all of the following ways EXCEPT

a. terror b. manipulation c. heavy taxation d. using the Magna Carta e. despotism

3. The Mongols ruled Russia for

a. about 20 years b. about seven generations c. a century d. almost 250 years

4. The American Bill of Rights has its origins

a. in England's Magna Carta b. in the U.S. Constitution c. in the Cheka d. in the KGB

5. Mongol rule in Russia ended with

a. Ivan the Terrible b. Lenin c. Stalin d. Ivan the Great e. Peter the Great

6. The Russian Tsar known as "the great Westernizer" was

a. Ivan the Terrible b. Lenin c. Stalin d. Ivan the Great e. Peter the Great

7. The first Russian Tsar was

a. Ivan the Terrible b. Lenin c. Stalin d. Ivan the Great e. Peter the Great

8. Long military service for Russian men started as a way of

a. keeping Russia impoverished b. keeping the Mongols away from Russian borders c. obtaining slaves for the Russian leaders d. increasing terrorism

9. The Russian Cossack warriors expanded Russian borders all the way to

a. Asia b. the Atlantic Ocean c. the Pacific Ocean d. Canada e. the Mediterranean

10. Peter the Great wanted to Westernize his country because

a. he thought his people needed to be exposed to Western ideas and culture b. because he felt that Russia was backward c. because he wanted modern techniques and weaponry d. because he wanted to make friends with the Western world

11. The Tsars who have "the Great" added to their names earned that title for

a. improving the Russian standard of living b. for the great cultural advances they made c. for their personal brilliance d. for their military conquests

12. The present-day U.S.S.R is really

a. the 16th century Russian borders b. fourteen separate nations that were conquered by Russia c. the product of seven centuries of conquest d. composed of people who voluntarily joined with Russia in the 17th century e. one of the above f. two of the above

13. Who instituted the internal passport system?

a. Ivan the Great b. Ivan the Terrible c. Lenin d. Stalin e. Peter the Great

14. The internal passport system means that

a. no one can leave Russia without a passport b. no one can leave a Russian-controlled territories without permission c. no one can buy or sell goods without permission d. no one can change jobs without permission

15. Who organized the first Russian secret police?

a. Ivan the Terrible b. Peter the Great c. Stalin d. Lenin

16. Under whose reign were Russian policies relaxed?

a. Peter the Great b. Ivan the Great c. Catherine the Great d. Tsar Alexander II e. none of the above

17. The Russian leader named above liberalized policies in all of the following areas EXCEPT

a. land ownership b. slavery c. censorship d. elections e. military service f. trials

18. Who assassinated Tsar Alexander II?

a. Peter the Great b. Lenin c. The People's Will d. Alexander Ulyanov

19. Who plotted the assassination Tsar Alexander II's successor?

a. Catherine the Great b. Lenin c. Lenin's brother d. a group of dissidents d. Joseph Stalin e. two of the above f. three of the above

20. Lenin's group of revolutionaries were called

a. the KGB b. the Cheka c. The People's Will d. Bolsheviks

REVIEW EXERCISE B. Mark the following statements true or false. Prepare to give the correct answers to all the statements you mark "false."

________ 1. Lenin's real name was Alexander Ulyanov.

________ 2. The Russian famine during Lenin's time was due mainly to crop failures.

________ 3. The first rulers of Moscow were called Tsars.

________ 4. Russia once had territory in the United States close to what is now San Francisco.

________ 5. The Caucusus is the entranceway to the Middle East.

________ 6. Catherine the Great said: "For a few score years we shall need Europe, then we can turn our back on her."

________ 7. Mongolia was the first Soviet satellite.

________ 8. Russia was defeated by Napolean's armies.

________ 9. Vladimir Ulyanov's family was disgraced because his brother helped to plot the assassination of the Tsar.

________ 10. The Kremlin is located in Moscow.

________ 11. Karl Marx and Frederic Engels wrote The Communist Manifesto

________ 12. Stalin executed more than half the senior officers of the Russian Army.

________ 13. According the Karl Marx's writings, socialism and "normalized" relations among countries should co-exist.

________ 14. The United States was "innocent" following World War II because it did not suffer as many casualties in the war.

_______ 15. Chromium is used in the building of airplane engines.

_______ 16. The communists want South Africa to solve its racial problems.

_______ 17. The Cape of Good Hope is located around the southern tip of South America.

_______ 18. Tribal wars in Africa have no effect on the United States.

_______ 19. The Soviets "dumped" Eritrea and warmed to Ethiopia because there was a famine in Eritrea.

_______ 20. The goal of Soviet conquest in Africa is to cut off resources from the West.

DISCUSSION ACTIVITY: Write an essay, then discuss, the following statement: The Soviet system is spread by conquest; the United States system is spread by example.

UNIT 2 EXAM

PART A. Answer the following questions to demonstrate your understanding of the unit.

1. Why is Turkey considered a "time bomb"?

2. Why was the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie good news for the Soviets?

3. What did the Soviet Union gain from taking over Afghanistan?

4. Why does Ethiopia need Soviet weapons and Cuban troops?

5. Of what importance are the Straits of Hormuz?

6. What has been considered one of the most costly failures in history?

7. Name three advantages the Soviets gained from World Wars I and II.

8. How did Lenin's regime "artificially create" a famine?

9. Briefly explain the difference between the theory of communism and the actual practice of communism.

10. What was the attitude of the United States toward the affairs and conflicts of the world before World War II.

PART B. Select the best choice to complete the following statements.

1. Communist Russia has

a. a monarchy b. an autocratic government c. a totalitarian regime d. a despotic government e. all of the above f. three of the above

2. The Soviets turned away from Eritrea and became interested instead in Ethiopia for all of the following reasons EXCEPT

a. the communists had nothing to lose by doing so b. Ethiopia was more valuable c. Ethiopia had more people d. Ethiopia has a strategic port

3. Vladimir Ulyanov became disillusioned with the liberalized policies because

a. he had studied under Karl Marx b. he blamed the policies for his brother's execution and his family's disgrace c. he thought the people's human rights were being violated d. he wanted to be Tsar

4. According to Marxism, all of the following apply EXCEPT

a. the "capitalist" world must be liberated b. socialism must move forward c. normal relations with other nations is impossible d. revolution is necessary to achieve a socialist world e. rulers must be made responsible to the people

5. The United States has tended in the past to view itself as "secure" for all of the following reasons EXCEPT

a. the U.S. has a democratic system of government b. the U.S. is bordered by mostly friendly neighbors c. the U.S. is an "island nation" d. the U.S. is not interested in conquest e. the U.S. has economic interests around the world

6. After World War II, the United States needed to learn

a. how to be a world power b. how to compete with foreign markets c. how to get the raw materials it needed d. how to protect its interests around the globe e. a and d above f. b and c above

7. Most of the world's high-grade chromium is found in

a. Africa b. Asia c. South America d. the United States e. Western Europe

8. Chromium is used to produce all the following EXCEPT

a. high-grade oil b. stainless steel c. airplane engines d. trim on automobiles

9. Other important basic materials which the United States and its allies import include all of the following EXCEPT

a. copper b. petroleum c. gold d. diamonds e. wheat f. platinum

10. Stalin had millions of fomer World War II prisoners of war sent to labor camps upon their return to the Soviet Union because

a. he didn't want the people to see the awful condition they were in b. they had deserted the Russian Army during the war c. they had seen the West d. they were all plotting against Stalin

EXTRA CREDIT: Name one important achievement of Tolstoy.

UNIT THREE

STRATEGIES OF CONFLICT: RESPONSES TO THE SOVIET THREAT IN THIS CENTURY

The option available to an imperialistic threat from a foreign power used to be, quite simply, to declare war. But two draining world wars and the advent of nuclear blackmail each in its own way served to change all that and required the nations of the world to come up with other approaches.

Since World War II, the American response to threats from abroad has amounted basically to a set of reactions -- that is, America reacting to the actions of aggressive powers around the globe as opposed to pre-empting our, or our allies', opponents, except in the case of Granada in 1983, where President Reagan sent in the Marines to stop the Cuban communists from setting up a missile base there. Except for that instance, however, the United States has tended to play a perpetual game of "catch-up" -- often caught off guard and scrambling to make up for lost time and/or lost opportunity.

The Soviet-communist threat, which is our primary concern here, has come in several guises in this century, as alluded to in the previous chapter: outright, conventional military aggression using Russian forces; subversion, including "revolutionary war," the "limited" and "undeclared" war, guerrilla warfare, and war by proxy; psychological warfare, which includes propaganda wars and wars of disinformation; terrorism, including suicide missions by proxies; and, finally, nuclear blackmail. All of these can be categorized under the label "imperialism" because they are part of a policy and practice of extending power over other nations, of gaining either direct or indirect control over the political and/or economic processes of areas belonging to somebody else.

Conventional Warfare

In the previous chapter on Russian history, many examples were given of conventional military aggression, and it is not necessary to explain that method further. A conventional war is won by (a) outproducing the enemy -- that is, building more and better weapons, (b) good military strategy, which requires excellent logistics capability -- ability to calculate what will be needed where, and in time to get it there efficiently, and (c) excellent organization.

Subversion and "Liberation Theology"

Subversion, or the systematic attempt to undermine a government or political system by sending agents to work secretly within the target country, has also been discussed to some extent, especially as it has operated in places like Africa and the Middle East.

The revolutionary, or guerrilla, war has been a favorite subversive technique for the Soviets, and new or unstable governments provide fertile ground for this type of activity. Such a war can be pursued without the consequences, either military or diplomatic, of committing one's own troops to the battle. It is a method of avoiding direct confrontation, and the first place the Soviets tried it out was in East Asia, in Korea, where North Koreans were armed with Soviet weapons and aided later in the war with Chinese communist troops. The next place was in Vietnam, where they improved upon the technique.

The war in Vietnam and Indochina is so complex that it would take many pages to describe the stages which brought it on, the mistakes and miscalculations that were made, and the awful result that ensued. Basically what happened is that the Vietnamese, who had long been under the influence of the French, became anxious at the end of World War II to achieve their independence, and because guarantees to that effect did not come as speedily as the Asians hoped, many Vietnamese who would not otherwise have done so were persuaded to join the openly communist forces of Ho Chi Minh, a charismatic leader. In 1954, Vietnam was partitioned so that it had a communist government in the North and a noncommunist one in the South, where its capital, Saigon, was located. Between the two was a 40-mile-long demilitarized, supposedly neutral, zone. Soon, Ho's communist government was sending large numbers of professional troublemakers into the South, where they worked with guerrilla forces (local revolutionaries) to set up networks of subversion and terrorism designed to undermine the Saigon government.

By 1961, the communists had made substantial gains. At that time we still did not understand the strategy involved with a so-called "limited war." What it boiled down to, however, was that the communist side was using the vast lands northward from which to resupply themselves with men, machines, and ammunition while our troops and the South Vietnamese had a limited amount of space from which to work and no resources to draw on that were not an ocean away. And because we felt we had to respect the neutral zone between the North and South, the communists were able to do an end run around this demilitarized zone to strike where defenders were least prepared and to have a sort of privileged sanctuary from which to strike. They used a sparsely inhabited route to resupply their forces, attacked with vastly superior and more numerous forces around the demilitarized zone, then sneaked back across the border before reinforcements could be brought in. By the time the United States got around to bombing the North to destroy the supply routes, it was too late, as Americans back home were sick of the long, drawn-out war.

The Vietnam effort, then, combined elements of five subversive techniques: the "revolution," the so-called "war of liberation," the "guerrilla war," the "limited war," the "undeclared

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war," and the war by proxy. First internal revolution was fomented; then troops from the North were moved in, and with the help of the revolutionaries already in place, began conducting an undeclared "war of liberation" aimed at taking over the country under the guise of "freeing" the Vietnamese from colonial rule (the communist "liberation theology"). Once in armed conflict the North Vietnamese communist forces then conducted hit-and-run attacks, as is the strategy of guerrilla warfare, always waiting until they had an overwhelming advantage from their sanctuaries in Laos and Cambodia, which were supposedly off limits. The Soviets sent their weapons and machines, but no troops, thereby conducting the takeover war by proxy using communist Chinese; the United States entered to help the South Vietnamese and protect our interests, but since we never declared an all-out war on the communists, we "limited" the conflict to just South Vietnam.

Of course there were other elements involved, such as terrorism, and Vietnam represented one of the worst instances of terrorism in history. What the communists did to villagers was ghastly beyond description, and more than a few of our own men broke down simply from being exposed to it. Terrorism contributed much to the communists being able to ignore the Paris treaty that President Richard Nixon and then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger drew up to end the war; the communists from the North came in after American troops were gone and took over the country anyway.

Whether or not the United States was right to have entered the conflict, Vietnam still represents the first war America actually lost.

But although we lost that region known as Indochina to the communists, we did not lose all of Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia south of Indochina is now part of the free world. Leaders like Lee Kuan Lew of Singapore maintain that because we spent 10 years holding the line in Vietnam, leaders in his part of the world had 10 years to develop resistance to communism and to learn to run their own affairs. Except for Thailand, all the nations of the region had been colonies of the West, with little experience in managing their own governments and their own economies. But because they gained valuable time, countries like Indonesia were able to throw out the Russians and become stable.

We know now that democracies are not really well equipped to fight *prolonged* wars. A democracy fights well when it is outraged by another country's actions and it gears up its war production. But public opinion will not support a war that drags on without *tangible* signs of progress. A totalitarian regime, on the other hand, can force its people to fight indefinitely and terrorize their populations if they balk. We also know now that while we can help a foreign government protect itself by sending advisers and arms, the threatened countries themselves have to be willing to bear the primary burden of supplying the manpower. We can't do it all for them; they have to be willing to fight themselves.

Terrorism

The use of terrorism, of course, can greatly affect a nation's will to fight. Applied suddenly, openly, and without warning it can cause a surge of indignation, which will greatly increase people's willingness to fight. Applied subtly, behind the scenes, and away from the limits that generally accompany law and order, it can sap a people's will and cause them to give up. The Soviets are skillful at knowing where and how to apply this kind of pressure, and unfortunately, the United States and its allies have not yet come up with a good strategy for combating it. That the South Vietnamese were, in many cases, not willing to bear the primary burden for manpower is partially due to the terror tactics that were used by the communists.

During the Carter Administration, the term "human rights" was coined to address the use of terror tactics, but the Geneva accords following World War II had supposedly outlawed that kind of abuse; so the human rights edicts basically represented a recommitment to an agreement that already existed. But again, it was largely ignored by imperialistic powers.

Terrorism has taken an added turn, too. Now it is not only used to affect the citizens of countries at war or in the process of being subverted, it is used as an underhanded technique to provoke open warfare in the larger sense. Suicide missions are used both by renegade outlaw groups to further their own causes and by communists to trigger chaos.

In 1984, suicide-terrorists slammed into a U.S. Marine barracks in Lebannon using a truck filled with explosives, killing hundreds of our men and leveling the building. It also killed all the participants in the raid, so there was no one left to prosecute. In key places like London and Greece, Beirut and Ireland bombs are routinely hurled into department stores, apartment buildings and airports; ships and airplanes are hijacked and their passengers murdered; individuals are kidnapped and held for months or years in order to win certain concessions from free governments.

The perpetrators generally have no qualms about accepting responsibility for these incidents -- indeed, they often boast about it. The rationale behind these kinds of terrorist attacks is that since the individuals who actually commit the crimes die in the process, an entire government can be held hostage. What can a government do against people who have already committed themselves to death? Also, the terrorist approach makes any place in the world a good target. That is, an aggressor no longer has to come to America to attack Americans; he can pick one up anywhere: at an American embassy in a foreign country, on a ship headed on a pleasure cruise, on a plane carrying people back to the States.

Terrorists are trained in key places around the globe, one of the most obvious being Libya. The Soviets are very often the trainers, although there are others. As indicated in the previous chapter, however, it is usually Soviet-trained terrorists who go on to market their trade wherever there is someone willing to hire them.

These trainees are schooled in more than terrorist tactics. They also understand how the American system works to the extent that they can predict our response to situations well enough to minimize their own risks. They know, for example, that the American press will be far more critical of our government's ability to protect American citizens abroad than of the perpetrators of the terrorist crimes themselves. They know that Americans, through the press, can be manipulated into blaming our own supposed lack of security measures, or the President, or any number of other scapegoats instead of the attackers. They know their revolutionaries will be glamorized by television. They also know our people, once again, are peace-loving and that we seek to avoid war at all costs. We will call on our government to do something about terrorist attacks, yes; but we won't stand still for anything that might precipitate an armed conflict. Indeed, many Americans balk even at the idea of sending a peacekeeping force to keep order in a foreign land.

Given that situation, there is little any President can do to stem the tide of terrorism. If he zeros in on the real perpetrators, the ones doing the training, he risks all-out confrontation. If he directs his efforts toward the ones calling the shots on the particular raid in question, then he risks further terrorist attacks on our own citizens in retaliation. He can't punish the terrorists involved because they are either dead or being given political sanctuary by our enemies, and he can't force other free countries to adopt tougher policies since he isn't in control there.

Consequently, President Reagan, like the administration before him, has worked to isolate the countries and leaders involved with (or who openly support) terrorist training -- people like Muammar Qaddafi in Libya and others whom our intelligence sources know about for sure. The American response has been to employ economic and diplomatic sanctions against these countries and to get other free nations to go along. Unfortunately, leaders of some of these free nations find their economic interests more important than their citizens' well-being, and it is often difficult, therefore, for America to get support in blockading terrorist-supporting nations.

So one of the greatest challenges of the coming decade will be the terrorist threat, including industrial sabotage, which we will not take up here but which can, without very much effort on the part of well-trained terrorists, disrupt or wipe out communications and power plants in a matter of seconds. Fortunately, we have come up with better responses to the nuclear threat than we have the terrorist threat.

Psychological Warfare and "Useful Idiots"

The difficulties in controlling terrorism bring up still another kind of warfare: the disinformation and propaganda war. Propaganda is the deliberate spreading of ideas, rumors, or allegations for the purpose of furthering one's cause and/or damaging the opponent's cause. Disinformation is wrong information which is disseminated either to divert attention from the real issues at hand or to, in effect, send people on a "wild goose chase" while the enemy does what it intended to do all along, without interference. Both are subversive techniques and come under the heading of psychological warfare, at which the Soviets are masters.

To conduct a successful war of propaganda requires a nation of trusting people. A population that trusts its key established institutions -- such as the press, the schools, the churches, the police forces -- are primary targets for this type of warfare. Propaganda and disinformation are designed to prey upon people's natural fears and do so in a way that destroys people's faith in their natural leaders. If that can be done successfully, new leaders, leaders more favorable to the Soviet cause, can be gradually introduced in key positions to sow the seeds of revolution and revolt. These new leaders -- revolutionaries in a different guise -- are called "agents." Sometimes agents are trained in the Soviet Union and sent here to live until they are called upon; the communists are careful to be sure these people have unchallengeable identities so that their backgrounds cannot be traced. Other times, malcontents of one kind or another who have "an ax to grind" are used, along with their various causes, to foment chaos and unrest. These malcontents are not shiftless bums with no education -- although that type is recruited for other purposes. More often, they are highly intellectual, well-educated individuals with essentially worthwhile causes. But the communists can use only those whose causes have blinded them to all other considerations -- preferably a fanatic. What the communists want are "stooges" who are articulate and charismatic, likeable individuals who can draw audiences. Such people start trends. That is why Moscow frequently looks to Hollywood for its unsuspecting recruits. That is where the people are who can really draw audiences -- people like Jane Fonda, Vanessa Redgrave, and Ed Asner -- and also people who tend to be most unschooled in the realities of international politics. In other words, because of the requirements of the business they are in, entertainers tend to be "easy marks" for communist recruitment.

But Hollywood is not the lone target. Sometimes church leaders can become so blinded in their quest for world-wide justice and morality that they fail to see that the most moral thing a government can do is to protect its own people. Religious leaders who want peace in the world so badly that they may not see a threat that lies right under their noses are also targets for communist manipulation. They lead marches, form protest groups, all the while blind to professional organizers who "join" the ranks of earnest followers for the purpose of stirring up hatred and confrontation.

Lenin had a phrase to describe his unwitting helpers -- "useful idiots." In other words, those whom the communists feel are most useful to them are those who can be easily manipulated due to their lack of understanding -- or unwillingness to understand -- the issues they are busy battling.

Student groups, especially college-age students, are a favorite target of the communists. Because students are relatively inexperienced, and because the younger a person is the more impulsive and emotional he tends to be, it is easy to organize students into frenzied groups defending causes they know rather little about. Screaming, frenzied mobs are, of course, very helpful to the communists because it generates confrontation, arouses anger and hostility, causes confusion and disorder, and pits group against group. Again, the worth of the cause itself is of little interest to the communists. What is of interest is the internal turmoil that results from the clash.

Consequently, the communists made a big push in the sixties and early seventies to capitalize on the division over Vietnam, civil rights, and other issues. The communists infiltrated some of the student organizations and took on the role of professional cheerleaders for the politically liberal view of the issues, since that view is more in keeping with communist philosophy. It is important to keep in mind, however, that this politically liberal view rarely actually represented the communist philosophy (for example, the communists couldn't care less about blacks -- or anybody else -- having civil rights). But to pretend to adopt that view was convenient at the time because it wasn't popular. Communist strategy emphasizes over and over the necessity of taking advantage of every disagreement, "even the slightest split," as Lenin details in the quotation on page 16. What better way to overthrow the established order than to have angry mobs in the street railing against anything and everything?

So, as in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, the communists were not about to allow Americans to work out their own problems in their own way and time. During this turbulent period in American history, the communists made tremendous gains for themselves and their cause and many things have changed a great deal because of it. But the communists also made some blunders of their own, and they were not able to generate the kind of full-fledged purging of our government and institutions that they had hoped.

All of us occasionally want something so badly that we cannot see the problem rationally. This causes us sometimes to accept irrational solutions, solutions we would not have considered had we been looking at the situation from different viewpoints and unemotionally.

But communist subversion thrives on emotionalism. It seeks to divide men and women of good will, not to unite them to achieve a goal. Communist leaders don't care about the causes -- good causes and bad causes are to them all alike: situations to be exploited for the purpose of bringing a country down.

The police are targets also, but in a different way. Here the aim is to simply render the forces of law and order ineffective so that, eventually, people will have no one to turn to for protection of their rights and property. This approach is favored when targeting a democratic government. In a non-democratic government, the police force is subverted so that it becomes part of the military force, which is in turn used to bring the government down and the people under a new order.

Again, the United States of the 1960's saw attempts to *undermine* our police force. Key cases were brought to court under the banner of civil rights -- this time to the advantage of the criminal elements of society. The result was that policemen were hamstrung by new rules and regulations which kept them from making arrests and, subsequently, from getting convictions. Frustrated policemen, endlessly tied up in court proceedings, *litigation*, and mob control duty were likened to the *Gestapo* by a media more concerned with criminals' rights than victims' rights. The police, once depicted as friendly authority figures who helped lost children find their front doors were suddenly The Enemy and given a new name by radical leftist groups: "Pigs." One such group, known as the Black Panthers, again carrying a civil rights banner, singled out the American police force for their own brand of harassment.

Today, reformed *agitators* like Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panthers leader of the sixties era, details in an interview with *Reason Magazine* (Feb. 1986) how he and others were used and recruited by professional communists, and how after extensive visits to communist-controlled countries he was sorely disillusioned. But at the time, emotionalism was so high that people utterly disbelieved such a thing could happen, hints about the activities of a KGB were literally laughed at, and the House on Un-American Activities was abolished along with much of the FBI's intelligence-gathering ability. J. Edgar Hoover, once America's foremost expert on Soviet subversion tactics, whose name the FBI building in Washington bears, was dishonored Soviet-style -- virtually overnight -- for seeking to expose communist personnel and plots in the United States. True, some FBI approaches may seem a little harsh by today's standards -- in particular wiretapping and some of the background checks -- but no more so than the invasion of privacy now generated via computers. The fact was that Hoover well understood the nature and extent of the communist threat, and it was important to the communist cause in America, therefore, that Hoover's name be discredited. Unfortunately, the naive elements and criminal elements within our own society were easily saturated with enough disinformation to make accusations against Hoover stick, and our entire justice system, from local law enforcement agencies to the courts, has been paying the price ever since. Also, the outcry against the FBI greatly increased the threat to our military security, and now we are seeing a surge of spy cases which our laxity helped to create.

While the Black Panthers, the Weathermen and other similar front groups are no longer a real force in America, the damage done was still immense. With hardened criminals wandering the streets either on probation, awaiting trial, or free on a technicality, innocent citizens gradually have lost faith in law enforcement's ability to protect their homes and neighborhoods. Some feel they have no choice but to take matters into their own hands and protect themselves as best they are able. The upshot is that, again, the communists made gains by causing a population to lose trust in its natural leaders and authority figures, and by helping to create a climate of suspicion and fear.

Where are the communist agents? Why are they not caught?

Again, our own ideals can be turned against us. America is one of the only countries, even among those that are free, whose justice system is predicated on the idea that a person is innocent until proven guilty. In most countries, including free ones, a person charged with a crime is guilty until proven innocent. Consequently, in America the major burden of proof lies with the prosecution, while in other countries it lies with the defense. Because this type of subversion was new to us, and because the communists were so skillful at covering their tracks, iron-tight cases were difficult to establish.

Of course, sometimes Soviet agents agents defect -- which is one way we know about their existence and the way they operate. One of the most recent defections has yielded much data concerning not only how and where Soviet agents operate, but the way the Soviet leadership thinks.

The following are quotes from Ion Mihai Pacepa, the highest-ranking intelligence officer ever to defect to the West from a Soviet-bloc country. He was the deputy director of the Department of Foreign Intelligence -- called DIE from its Rumanian name, Departmentul de Informatii Externe. Pacepa had been a Rumanian intelligence officer since 1951, when he was 23 years old. He had come to the United States frequently as Rumanian communist president Nicolae Ceausescu's aide.

Within months of his defection in late 1978, the communists conducted a thorough purge of its of the Party and government officials. Pacepa is unable to contact his daughter, who is still in Rumania, and his father is living under a new identity in the United States.

What follows, then, is from Pacepa's book about his experiences as intelligence aide to Ceausescu and as the DIE information officer and how these experiences led Pacepa to defect. His report of events show particularly how the communists subvert not only Third World nations but sophisticated Western European nations as well. (Boldface emphasis is added.)

> "Horizon" was by far the most secret DIE operation, and its files were locked in the DIE's super-secure vault, continuously covered by closed circuit cameras and accessible only to the minister of interior, the political chief of DIE, and me.
>
> "Horizon" was Ceausescu's grand plan, an extension of Euro-Communism, for strengthening his Communist rule in Rumania **with the help of capitalist governments.** It was . . . aimed at gaining Western good will, political support, credits, and prohibited technologies . . . .
>
> "Horizon," contained in several bulky files organized by geographic area, was the only place where one could find . . . Ceausescu's overall goals and concrete objectives for each non-Communist country of interest, starting with the United States and ending with Boukassa's Central African Republic, as well as data on the most important influence agents created by the DIE over the years.
>
> Concealed in the "Horizon" files was information on every major successful influence operations created by Ceausescu. Among the oldest was the operation to provide [secret] support for Willy Brandt, the chairman of West [free] Germany's Social Democratic party, in two parliamentarian votes of confidence, in 1973 and 1974, which he won **only by also having two supporting votes from the opposition.** According to the DIE station chief in West Germany, the two deputies in question had been approached by Rumanian intelligence officers, who plied them with valuable gifts and persuaded them to vote against their own party.
>
> One of the newest operations documented there, and by far the most important, was the annual effort to have the United States Congress renew most-favored-nation trade status from Rumania.
>
> For this operation, almost every Rumanian representative in the United States, including the ambassador, **was replaced by an intelligence officer. More than 10,000 Rumanians were recruited as agents and sent to the West as emigres in a mass operation designed to influence the governments of the United States** and its allies, especially West Germany and Israel. Intelligence officers and agents were secretly sent to the United States to take over control of emigre organizations **and direct their publications and social activities.**

The file showed that the DIE had helped finance and direct the activities *of such emigre organizations* as . . . the American-Rumanian National Committee for Human Rights. Through such organizations, the DIE conducted an intensive lobby on Capitol Hill **and led street demonstrations in Washington.** In 1975, when Rumania first received most-favored-nation status, the DIE chief was rewarded by being made a Hero of the Rumanian Socialist Republic, and the chief of the US Brigade was promoted to the rank of General.

In 1975 the DIE began an ambitious project to set up a complete, computerized data bank on more than 600,000 native or second-generation Rumanians living in the West, using consular, mail-censorship, and intelligence information. Undercover officers and agents sent abroad to take over control of emigre organizations, publications, and social activities **used various covers, from folk-art instructor to priest.**

Because the Rumanian government has no prisons abroad, it uses beatings, kidnappings, and unattributable assassinations to "discipline" emigres in the West. It has become a matter of political prestige. . . to execute defectors who have been granted political asylum in such countries as the United States, France, and West Germany.

Dissidents who have been given exit visas . . . have also been DIE targets for assassination in the West.

Orders have repeatedly been given for silencing of emigre journalists and others who publicly criticize the . . . dictatorship, including US government employees working for Radio Free Europe. Monica Lovinescu, a respected but outspoken French citizen who for years has been an employee of Radio Free Europe in France, has particularly incensed Ceausescu.

"Lovinescu must be silenced," Ceausescu ordered at one point. "Not killed. We don't need any more uncomfortable French and American investigations just now. She should be beaten to a pulp and have her jaw, teeth, and arms broken, so that whe will never again be able to speak or write -- beaten in her own home so she and others will learn that no place is safe for people who [utter malicious statements] against the . . . dictatorship. . . . She should become a living corpse, an unforgettable example to others."

> On November 1976 Lovinescu was severely beaten in her home by a Palestine Liberation Organization group acting on Rumania's behalf.[*]

In 1978, Ceausescu ordered Pacepa to arrange the assassination of Emil Georgescu, a supervising editor of Radio Free Europe in Munich. Ceausescu told Pacepa he didn't want the Rumanian government involved, that "foreign professional criminals must be used, and that wasp's nest, Radio Free Europe headquarters, must be wiped out with powerful explosives."

Pacepa defected one week later.

Pacepa goes on to describe in his book how Soviet agents of terror are used througout Soviet-bloc countries, how other DIE agents stole NASA secret douments, how and why the communists have targeted the Roman Catholic Church, and how the Rumania experience is typical of Soviet-style communist operations.

Sometimes the agents are obtained in this country -- people very unhappy with their lives for one reason or another, or people who have been well bribed, and they, too, later change their minds, as did Eldridge Cleaver, the former Black Panther leader. But most often, Soviet agents are people who have been very well trained -- and brainwashed to either hate America, capitalism, and the free world or to believe that they are doing a wonderful service by bringing America down.

Propaganda and Disinformation Campaigns

The press is key to the disinformation process. It served Hitler well in his rise to power in Germany, as well as Mussolini in Italy and others. Today that weapon is considerably more potent due to modern technology that allows information to travel quickly via satellite and computer. No average citizen has time to be an expert on everything that happens in the world. Few people have time to really study all the various things that occur. This makes news a valuable *commodity*. It makes reporters and commentators extremely influential.

The old saying goes: "The pen is mightier than the sword." Words have the power to generate love and hate, to evoke anger or sympathy, to create unity or discord. Clever writers can take opinions and make them read like facts. Newsroom editors can cut and splice film clips to highlight the events they want viewers to see and throw details that might reveal a different *perspective* on the cutting room floor.

Why would anyone do such things? Why would anyone want to sell out America?

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[*] These excerpts reprinted from those that appeared in "The Washingtonian" magazine, December 1985, pp. 168-172.

The answer isn't all that simple. What makes a person a patriot? What makes him enlist in the Army at 16 to get shipped overseas to fight on foreign soil?

In both cases, the answers are similar. Some people are paid, pure and simple, and their motivation is money or goods. Some people believe it will make them successful, or powerful, or that they will leave their mark on history. Some believe they will ensure their place in Heaven; and still others have a deep commitment to what they are doing and believe they are changing the world for the better.

These are all psychological motivations because they depend upon what people believe, not necessarily on what the actual facts happen to be.

The communists long ago realized they would have to become experts at exploiting the psychological aspects of human nature if they expected to avoid all-out war in achieving their objective. The Soviets got their first real lesson in psychological techniques during the Korean War, using prisoners of war, although it was also used to a lesser extent by the Japanese (Tokyo Rose) and Germans (SS troops) in World War II.

They learned that if a person believed he was going to die, or that his family would be harmed, or that Americans had already been defeated in battle, they could be expected to react in certain ways whether these things were really true or not. So the Soviets became more sophisticated in their techniques of psychological manipulation. Indeed, Lenin, among other communist leaders, wrote extensively on infiltration, psychological manipulation, and the value of hatred. On page 210, volume 25, of his Collected Works* (1935) Lenin explains the communist divide-and-conquer rationale:

> "One can only conquer a more powerful enemy by the greatest exertion of forces and by compulsory, careful, thoughtful, and skillful use of every, even the smallest, split between enemies; [and by utilizing] any contradiction in the interests between the bourgeoisie of the various countries, as countries, between the various groups of bourgoisie inside individual countries, as well as every, even the slightest, possibility of finding an ally for oneself, even a temporary, unsteady, unreliable, conditional one."

One psychological element that can be exploited, then, is commitment to a cause. It doesn't matter whether the people involved are very well educated and wealthy or poorly educated and in rags. The approach used is a little different, but the technique is the same.

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*from trans. comp. by Ian Greig, For. Affairs Research Inst., London

It was Reinhold Niebuhr who once said that "[a] corrupted ideal may be more potent than a frank defiance of all ideal values." *Idealists* often are very sophisticated about ideas in the abstract sense but extremely naive about practical realities, and their minds are closed to debate. If groups of such people become the *power elite* of a nation, they can "mold public opinion" pretty much to their liking.

How is that possible? By manipulating the press.

First you have to understand the nature of an "elite." An elite can be either a powerful minority group, such as the military, or a socially superior group, but in any case they must have access to the major wealth and power structure of a nation.

If a certain political group can somehow gain control of newspapers, television stations, and radio, it will become the power elite. In a capitalist system like the United States, that can happen through the careful buying up of the means of communication -- through stock, through *mergers*, through well-marketed and advertised new businesses.

This is considerably different from a military elite. Under a military elite, control is achieved by military force. It is a relatively less complex undertaking than economic force. A power elite can, of course, represent the views of the established order, but it doesn't have to. However, if it does not, then there exists a fertile ground for serious conflict.

Interestingly, between 75 and 94 percent of the media in the United States is of a politically *liberal* persuasion.[*] This situation is very unusual for a free country and compromises freedom of thought.

The major problem of a media, or press, power elite arises from the fact that it is influential and that it can mold public perception of events. It determines what is fashionable, trendy, and what is popular. It can romanticize some people and present other, equally worthy individuals, in a bad light. It can make or break one's public image by *trivializing* the serious and playing up trivia. It can even go so far as to select camera angles that are unflattering over better ones. Modern media technology has the ability to glamorize causes and individuals, whose opinions are often treated as news, not because these people are authorities, but because they are trend-setters.

Because successful (that is, moneymaking) reporting in America generally depends upon emotional appeal, those who decide what actually goes into print or on the air frequently avoid what they view as bogging down the audience with details.

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[*] S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman. "Media and the Business Elites." Public Opinion Magazine. Oct./Nov. 1981, p. 42 and *L.A. Times Poll*, 1985.

For example, it makes good copy to carry a statement by former President John F. Kennedy to the effect that we would "pay any price and bear any burden to support our friends and oppose our foes for the survival and success of liberty." Such a statement, presented in President Kennedy's 1961 inaugural address, has emotional appeal. But when President Kennedy translated this appeal into an actual commitment of 16,000 American soldiers, helicopters, and other aircraft into Vietnam a couple of years later, newspapers and television commentators did not elaborate on the technical considerations of the program. Instead, explanations concerning why we were in Vietnam remained on an emotional level. Very little was said concerning the "domino theory" -- how the fall of Vietnam could signal the fall of every country, just like dominoes, in Southeast Asia. Little or nothing was said about the oil in Indonesia, the tin in Malaysia, or the importance of the waterway between the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean called the Malacca Straits, which, if it were taken over by a hostile power, would require us to go thousands of miles out of our way to get to the Indian Ocean.

Why was this and other crucial information not reported? Because it wouldn't make interesting copy.

Thus the press sometimes helps the communists' propaganda whether or not it is intentional (although sometimes it is) -- by putting excitement above needed information.

In the United States, a predominantly liberal media has been unfavorable to political conservatives. An interesting development, however, has taken place since 1980. Politically conservative President Ronald Reagan has succeeded in out-maneuvering an unfavorable press. Because of his own early media training and because of his personal likability, he has been able to "beat them at their own game," so to speak, and in the process has exposed many typical media tactics.

Although the public is no longer as trusting of the press as it once was, it remains to be seen whether our nation's citizens will win the propaganda and disinformation war -- whether we have the education, the insight, or perceptiveness to differentiate between what is presented to influence them and what is presented to inform them, between what is critical and what is insignificant, between what is pure "hype" and what is really worthwhile.

Nuclear Blackmail

Finally, then, there is nuclear blackmail which, interestingly, is a form of psychological warfare. Soviet strategist Major-General A. S. Milovidov writes in "The Philosophical Heritage of V. I. Lenin and Problems of Contemporary War" (Editor-in-Chief, Voyenizdat, Moscow, 1972, p. 213):

> "Different types of weapons cause a differing degree of fear in people who are subjected to their

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> influence. The greater the power of destructive effects of a weapon and the more sophisticated the system ensuring a hit on target, the greater is the probability of destruction and consequently, the stronger this weapon acts upon the psychology of the individual.
>
> "The possible broad employment of nuclear missiles for accomplishing many combat missions by various branches of the armed forces . . . and an increase in accuracy of target detection and hits on target **will facilitate** an even more powerful effect on the morale of the populace and troop personnel.
>
> **"It is possible to intensify or weaken the morale-psychological feelings caused by the influence of means of armed warfare by the use of ideological measures.** The employment of the latest achievements of science and technology for purposes of destroying people and enormous material values **may be reinforced by the use to an unprecedented scale of ideological and psychological means and methods of crushing the will of the enemy to resist."***

There are many other Soviet writings that say virtually the same thing: that psychological and ideological methods are to be employed for the purpose of generating the greatest amount of fear among the enemy population (us). The hope is, of course, that in our frenzy and fear, we will not be able to think clearly on the issue and will instead either agree to concessions that would work against our national interests and safety or place the blame for nuclear weapons at the feet of our own government. Unfortunately, this tactic on the part of the Soviets has met with considerable success.

However, there is a big glimmer on the horizon -- and it has taken the Soviets aback.

On March 23, 1983, President Reagan addressed the nation to launch a new approach to the nuclear threat:

> "I call upon the scientific community of our country . . . to turn their great talents now to the cause of peace, to give us the means to render those [nuclear] weapons obsolete. . . . My fellow Americans, tonight we are launching an effort which holds the promise of changing the course of human history."

The scientific community responded to the challenge. Coming from a position where the United States had essentially zero defense against either a deliberate or an accidental nuclear attack, we now have a positive approach to make nuclear weapons useless. This approach is called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), or "High Frontier."

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* trans. comp. by Ian Grieg, For. Affairs Research Inst., London

The SDI approach essentially places a bulletproof vest on what has been the bare chest of the United States. It is a non-aggressive approach to defense; it does not -- cannot -- kill anyone. It does keep others from killing us. Its systems are non-nuclear so that it does not rely on the use of nuclear explosions to work. Moreover, it is no longer necessary to blow up Moscow to save ourselves, nor does it add radioactive fallout to our already ample environmental hazards.

How much will it cost?

It compares favorably with other defense programs. But as science-fiction writer and former Research and Development engineer Robert Heinlein has put it: "A man with a burst appendix can't afford to dicker over the cost of surgery."

Can we do it?

The SDI approach involves mainly well-known technology and existing hardware.

Will it completely prevent the use of nuclear weapons against us?

It for sure denies an enemy a free chance to destroy us with a pre-emptive first strike. This means he will not have the advantage of surprise, with its resulting chaos and confusion. Consequently, there would hardly be any point in such an attack.

Accidental launches against the United States would be similarly neutralized -- out in space, where they cannot hurt anybody.

As currently envisioned, certain types of nuclear arsenals, such as cruise missiles which fly below the range of radar -- in other words, relatively low to the ground -- could be used, but these are not as destructive as ICBM missiles and the other delivery systems we are talking about, and no country would use such a method for a first, or even second, strike.

This time it is the Soviets' turn to "respond" -- and it is indeed pleasant for a change to see the communist leadership scrambling to meet the challenge instead of us.

So far the Soviets have been resorting to a campaign of disinformation to force our government to scrub plans on SDI. Aided once again by our nation's media, who quickly dubbed the SDI initiative "Star Wars," after the movie title of the same name, the Soviets have worked hard to plant the notion that SDI will mean massive space wars, as in science fiction movies, with enormous fleets of space vehicles blasting each other out of the sky and wreaking havoc with laser beams on defenseless cities.

The charge is absurd, as experts in the fields involved have over and over again detailed, but like Lenin's "useful idiots," non-authorities on the subject having wide audience appeal have been summoned by the communist-sympathizing forces to spread this false notion among Americans.

Not to be outdone, an undaunted President Reagan offered to share the new technology with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev as soon as it is perfected so that his country, too, might be free of the nuclear threat.

The Soviet response to this ingenious diplomatic maneuver has been interesting. While no doubt frustrated, the Soviet leadership has simply ignored the offer and the disinformation campaign has continued.

But the real Soviet motive is revealed by their use of terms: their continuing referral to "Star Wars" but not to "Strategic Defense Initiative." Thus it is plain that they prefer the present "balance of terror" to any strategy to ensure peace. If it were simply a question of believing that the SDI idea will not work, or that our President is lying about the intentions of the program, Soviet leaders would have been equally as clever as President Reagan in coming up with an offer of their own: to help ensure that SDI WILL work, to work with our technical people to assure a satisfactory outcome of this project. Instead, they are relying on the same old psychological tactics of disinformation and propaganda.

Why would the Soviets not be interested in SDI when it is obviously in their own interests, even if they still want to defeat us, not to have a world that is demolished and radioactive?

A better question to ask would be: What is the advantage to the Soviets in preserving the current nuclear stand-off?

Now the answer becomes obvious. Without nuclear blackmail, the Soviets lose an important psychological advantage over the people of the United States.

So while according to their own writings the Soviets apparently would not have qualms about using nuclear weapons, at least to a limited extent or as a first strike, the greatest advantage to them of a nuclear stalemate between the United States and the Soviet Union is psychological.

The Strategic Defense Initiative will be discussed in greater detail in the last chapter of this booklet.

VOCABULARY LIST 3

NEW WORDS AND TERMS

pre-empt -- (v.) to take the initiative; to do something before somebody else does

conventional -- (adj.) usual, common; in warfare, not making use of nuclear weapons

logistics -- (n.) the part of military science concerned with the obtaining, maintaining, and transporting of military materials and personnel

charismatic -- (adj.) having extraordinary power to arouse loyalty and enthusiasm

undermine -- (v.) to subvert or weaken secretly little by little

demilitarized -- (adj.) neutral, having no troops or weaponry

prolong -- (v.) to lengthen in time

tangible -- (adj.) capable of being seen, obvious

balk -- (v.) to refuse to continue

surge -- (n.) to rise suddenly to an excessive or abnormal level

indignation -- (n.) anger aroused by something unjust

subtle -- (adj.) operating gradually and behind the scenes

renegade -- (n.) someone who rejects lawful or conventional behavior; one who switches allegiance from one cause, or faith, to another

perpetrate -- (v.) to commit; perpetrators -- (n.) those responsible for something that happens

scapegoat -- (n.) scapegoating (v.) 1. a person or thing that takes the blame for others 2. the act of casting the blame on those who are either innocent or only partially responsible for some injustice

precipitate -- (v.) to bring about suddenly or violently

retaliate -- (v.) to get revenge

sanction -- (n.) an economic or military measure adopted to force a nation violating international law to cease doing something

industrial sabotage -- (n.) destructive action directed against a large business or an industry propaganda -- (n.) ideas, information, or rumors spread deliberately to further one's own cause or damage someone else's cause

allegation -- (n.) an unproved assertion; a charge against someone

disseminate -- (v.) to distribute widely

divert -- (v.) to distract; to change course or direction

infiltrate -- (v.) to enter or become established gradually and secretly, so as not to be noticed

established -- (n.) recognized and accepted

purge -- (n.) a removal of elements or members regarded as undesirable or disloyal; (v.) to get rid of

litigation -- (n.) a legal contest; a lawsuit

Gestapo -- (n.) a secret police organization that employs underhanded or terrorist methods; Adolph Hitler's secret police organization in World War II Germany

agitator -- (n.) one who stirs up public feeling on controversial issues; a professional troublemaker

predicate -- (v.) based on; built around

defection -- (n.) desertion of one party or cause in order to support another

emigre -- (n.) a person forced to leave one's residence or country for political reasons, esp. to act as a political agent elsewhere

lobby -- (v.) in politics, to attempt to influence or sway (as a public official) toward a desired action (usually to secure passage of desired legislation)

asylum -- (n.) a place of refuge, sanctuary, safety

commodity -- (n.) something useful, valuable, or convenient; an economic good

bourgeoisie -- (n.) a communist term meaning the ruling class of capitalist society; bourgeois (adj.) -- something supposedly typical of the ruling class of capitalist society; dominated by commercial and industrial interests

elite -- (n.) a socially superior or powerful group merger -- (n.) absorption by a corporation (an association of employers and employees in a basic industry) of one or more other corporations

liberal -- (n.) in American politics, one who favors a strong, centralized government, abundant social assistance programs (welfare), and heavy regulation over wages, prices, and business in general, while at the same time supporting policies of permissiveness and leniency on social or personal issues. The nonpolitical definition of liberal, however, is "characterized by open-mindedness, tolerance, generosity and favoring polices of economic and personal freedom"

liberalize -- (v.) to loosen, to make less harsh or difficult

perspective -- (n.) viewpoint; the way one views something mentally

copy -- (n.) a journalistic term meaning "news"

trivialize -- (v.) to make less important than it really is

elaborate -- (v.) to give details of

conservative -- (n.) in American politics, one who favors a decentralized, unobtrusive government with distribution of functions and powers retained by local and regional authorities. (adj.) policies characterized by minimal regulation of business or interference with free market principles, limited social spending and encouragement of private charity. On social-personal issues, conservative policies are based on consistency, moderation, and tradition. The nonpolitical definition of conservative is "a philosophy characterized by a preference for gradual development over abrupt change, social stability, and traditional norms and manners.

perceptiveness -- (n.) being very observant, characterized by sympathetic understandiang or insight

differentiate -- (v.) to recognize a difference

"hype" -- (n. or v.) gimmicky sales promotion characterized by extravagant publicity

strategist -- (n.) one who plans strategy as a career

ICBM -- (n.) intercontinental ballistic missile; a self-propelled missile which is guided in the ascent stage and capable of traveling very long distances (around 4000 miles) to other continents. The flight path is affected by earth's gravity after the speed has been achieved by rocket motors.

neutralize -- (v.) to make ineffective

delivery system -- (n.) all of the systems, including missile, rocket, etc., required to carry a nuclear explosive to its destination.

undaunted -- (adj.) undismayed, fearless, esp. under stress

stalemate -- (n.) a position (in a game) in which neither player can move; a deadlock

burden of proof -- primary responsibility for proving a legal case

REVIEW WORDS

agent -- (n.) a representative of a government -- secret or otherwise; one who acts by authority from another

fanatic -- (n.) one whose behavior is frenzied and characterized by excessive enthusiasm and uncritical devotion to a cause

confrontation -- (n.) a hostile and challenging situation; a clashing of forces or ideas; a conflict

concession -- (n.) something given up with the hope of getting something in return

imperialistic -- (adj.) advocating a policy of territorial acquisition by gaining indirect control over the political or economic life of other areas or nations

disinformation -- (n.) information designed to mislead; propaganda; lies

idealist -- (n.) one who lives life according to ideals (standards of perfection) instead of operating solely on the the level of reality

dissident -- (n.) someone who disagrees or who stands in opposition

capitalism -- (n.) an economic system characterized by private and corporate ownership of goods, by investments that are determined by private decision rather than by government control, and by prices, production, and distribution of goods determined mainly by competition in a free market capitalist -- (n.) one who practices or advocates capitalism. To the Soviet communists, capitalism is the first phase of communism, socialism being the second phase, and represents the exploitation of workers.

EXERCISE A. Match each of the words in column A with the word most closely related to it in column B. Place the abbreviation for the part of speech next to each word in column B (n. = noun, v. = verb, adj. = adjective, adv. = adverb. Be prepared to explain any differences in meaning.

a. indignation

b. pre-empt

c. retaliate

d. allegation

e. divert

f. infiltrate

g. litigation

h. defection

i. lobby

j. commodity

k. elite

l. trivialize

m. perceptiveness

n. differentiate

o. merger

p. dissemination

q. propaganda

r. capitalism

s. charismatic

t. agitator

1. infiltration

2. elitist

3. capital

4. agitation

5. propagandize

6. trivia

7. merge

8. pre-emptive

9. diversion

10. charisma

11. retaliation

12. lobbyist

13. allege

14. defect

15. accomodation

16. litigate

17. indignant

18. disseminate

19. perceive

20. different

EXERCISE B. Fill in the blank by selecting the best word from your vocabulary list. In some cases a different form of the word may be required from the one on your list.

1. I was ________________ because Mary copied off of my test paper and got a higher grade than I did.

2. The New England Patriots may have beaten the Miami Dolphins in the 1985 NFL football playoffs, but the Dolphins let everyone know they were coming back in 1986 with plans to ______________.

3. Mr. Evans had always assigned his classes a lot of homework, but when he asked them to write a 20-page composition in one night, his students ______________.

4. A machine gun is a ______________ weapon.

5. The most ______________ piece of evidence in the murder case was the weapon, which was found in the bushes close to the scene of the crime; otherwise there was not much to go on.

6. The football game was ________________ by half an hour when injuries on the field required five "time outs."

7. Some students ________________ that Jim had cheated on the test, but the truth was that they were just jealous of his good score.

8. The owner of Fritzie's Hair Salon ________________ leaflets all over town to advertise free haircuts at the new store.

9. The conservation group went to Washington, D.C., to ______________ for more money to preserve our nation's forests.

10. Most people consider the public school to be an ____________ institution in the United States.

11. Margaret ______________ the attention of the class when she held up a small kitten that she had been holding in her lap.

12. In the Soviet Union people wait in long lines simply to obtain everyday ________________ like toilet tissue.

13. The newspaper editor told the reporter that he wanted to see some interesting ________________ on the summit conference by noon.

14. Considerable ________________ on the radio and in the newspapers usually precedes any Michael Jackson concert.

15. Even though Janice made a "D" on the first algebra test, she was ______________ and expected to get a "B" the next time.

EXERCISE C. Select the best completion for the following sentences.

1. Both candidates disseminated propaganda about each other before the election in order to

a. make themselves look better b. make the other fellow look better c. get more people to register to vote d. clearly explain the issues of the campaign

2. Individuals who defect from the Soviet Union often request asylum in the United States for all the following reasons EXCEPT

a. because they want protection b. because they have information that would be damaging to the Soviets c. because they want to share information about the Soviets with the U.S. government d. because they are poor e. because they think they would like life in the United States

3. The United States Constitution is predicated on all of the following EXCEPT

a. the Magna Carta b. certain inalienable rights c. equality before the law d. a military power structure e. life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness

4. A newspaper that reported on income tax reform from a liberal perspective would probably emphasize

a. the need to raise taxes to provide for the poor b. the need to reduce taxes so that more people would be inclined to open up businesses c. the need to leave everything the way it is so that life doesn't become any more complicated d. the need to reduce the minimum wage law so that employers can afford to hire more people

5. What might an emigre from Italy most likely be doing in Greece?

a. reporting to Italian officials on something happening in Greece b. having an exciting vacation c. defecting d. organizing a lobby

6. From your knowledge of history, which of the following individuals would most likely be involved in planning tactical maneuvers?

a. Albert Schweitzer b. Helen Keller c. General George S. Patton d. Thomas Jefferson

7. If your history textbook is rewritten with subtle changes, it means

a. nothing has really been changed b. the book is shorter than it was before c. the changes are there but hard to locate d. the changes are obvious

8. An established church is one that

a. has been around a long time b. one that came into existence last year c. one that everybody believes in d. one that has millions of dollars

9. A charismatic leader would be all of the following EXCEPT

a. wealthy b. popular c. good with words d. enthusiastic
e. brilliant f. two of the above g. three of the above

10. To differentiate between a liberal writer and a conservative writer, a reader would have to be

a. undaunted b. imperialistic c. an idealist d. perceptive
e. a dissident

UNIT 3 REVIEW

REVIEW EXERCISE A. Discuss each of the following questions in your class. Jot down some ideas on the subject first.

1. Why can't a president simply declare war on a power that keeps threatening other countries?

2. What is the difference between the American Revolutionary War in 1776 and the "revolutionary wars" inspired by the communists.

3. What is meant by "the balance of terror"?

4. How can our own ideals be turned against us by the communists?

5. What does it mean to say that "the pen is mightier than the sword"?

6. Who are Lenin's "useful idiots"? How do the communists use them to further their own cause?

7. What are some of the methods used by the communists to undermine an established government?

8. Why does today's instant communication capability often make it more difficult, rather than easier, for people to get the truth about an issue? How do the communists take advantage of this fact? In what way is news a commodity?

9. What basic insights do Ion Pacepa's experiences shed on the communist viewpoint? Do you think it was a difficult decision for Pacepa to defect?

10. What are "front organizations" and how have some of them hurt the United States even though they are no longer a direct threat?

REVIEW EXERCISE B. Select the best choice to complete the following statements.

1. Military logistics include all the following EXCEPT

a. transportation of troops b. subversion c. keeping military equipment in good repair d. ordering spare parts

2. The United States has only pre-empted the communists one time in recent history. That was in

a. Turkey b. South Africa c. Vietnam d. Grenada e. Singapore

3. The communists have learned that the best places to conduct "wars of liberation" are in countries which

a. have unstable governments b. have military governments c. have a monarchy d. have a democracy

4. The first place the communists successfully used a guerrilla, or revolutionary, war was in

a. the Middle East b. Grenada c. Vietnam d. Rumania e. none of the above

5. Before the takeover by the communists, Vietnam had been under the influence of the

a. French b. Americans c. Italians d. Chinese e. Japanese

6. The communist-inspired "war of liberation" in Vietnam was portrayed by the communists as

a. an open conflict between North and South Vietnam b. the forces of capitalism against the forces of communism c. freeing the Vietnamese from French colonial rule d. a war by proxies

7. The United States learned all of the following from the Vietnam War EXCEPT

a. that democracies fight best when they are outraged and the conflict is short b. that the U.S. cannot provide all the troops to fight another country's war c. that aid in the form of arms and advice is the best help the U.S. can give other nations under communist threat d. that the people of the United states must see constant evidence of progress if they are to support an armed conflict e. that it is useless to try to help any country that is in trouble

8. The terrorist approach to warfare benefits the perpetrators for which of the following reasons?

a. they can keep their identities secret b. they can strike anywhere in the world c. they do not have to declare war d. the terrorists themselves generally cannot be prosecuted e. there are few risks involved f. all of the above g. a and d of the above

9. Hollywood entertainers are sometimes targets for recruitment by the communists for all of the following reasons EXCEPT

a. they are trend-setters b. they understand politics better than most people c. they are well trained at captivating audiences d. people tend to look up to them

10. Lenin's term "useful idiots" apply to those who are

a. comfortable with their own values b. not very intelligent c. criminals in their own country d. easily manipulated

11. Members of just about any group can become "useful idiots" as long as they

a. don't really understand the issues they are battling b. are more interested in the "end" than the "means" c. are blind to the professional organizers behind the scenes d. all of the above e. a and b of the above

12. In a democracy the police forces are targeted for subversion by the communists so that

a. the people will eventually lose faith in their police to protect them b. the people will eventually have no one to protect their rights and property c. they can turn the police force over to the military d. criminals will remain longer on the streets to generate fear and suspicion e. all of the above f. all of the above except c

13. It was important to the communists that J. Edgar Hoover be discredited for all of the following rreasons EXCEPT

a. he did not really understand communist beliefs b. he well understood communist strategy c. he was looked up to by the American public d. he had worked to uncover and prosecute communists operating in the United States

14. Nicolae Ceausescu was the communist president of

a. the Soviet Union b. Czechoslavakia c. Rumania d. the DIE

15. According to Ion Mihai Pacepa, Ceausescu planned to extend communism to other European nations by

a. appealing to the interests of the European people b. by setting up elections c. by gaining good will, and political support from leaders in capitalist nations d. by military aggression

REVIEW EXERCISE C. Label each of the following statements either true or false. Be prepared to give reasons for each of the statements you mark "false."

__________ 1. A "war of liberation" is low-risk for the Soviets because they don't have to commit their own troops to the battle.

__________ 2. Good military strategy is the key to winning a guerrilla war.

__________ 3. Local guerrilla forces in a country are also referred to as "revolutionaries."

__________ 4. An agitator is a professional troublemaker.

__________ 5. The communist forces in Vietnam stayed out of the demilitarized zone between North and South Vietnam.

__________ 6. The United States finally declared war on the communists in Vietnam.

__________ 7. The American presence in Vietnam allowed other Southeast Asian nations to learn to run their own affairs.

__________ 8. Democracies do well in fighting prolonged wars.

__________ 9. The "human rights" policy of the Carter Administration was the first effort to combat the use of terror and torture.

__________ 10. To conduct a successful war of propaganda requires a nation of people who trust their established institutions.

__________ 11. The object of undermining the established institutions is to show people that they would be better off under communism.

__________ 12. The communists always believe the liberal view on any issue of concern to the United States .

__________ 13. The communists care about the plight of oppressed racial groups around the globe.

__________ 14. Psychological motivations are based on what actually is happening in the world at any given time.

__________ 15. In the American justice system, a person facing a criminal charge bears the burden of proving himself (or herself) innocent.

__________ 16. According to Lenin, even an unreliable ally is better than no ally at all.

__________ 17. Taking control of a country through economic force is easier than doing so by military force.

__________ 18. The American press today is dominated chiefly by the beliefs of whatever political party is in power at the time.

__________ 19. President Richard Nixon was the first to commit U.S. arms or troops to Vietnam.

__________ 20. President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) involves mainly unknown technology.

REVIEW EXERCISE D. Complete the following sentences with the correct information.

1. "Horizon" was the name given to

2. The only people who could get in to see the "Horizon" files were

3. Rumanian intelligence officers obtained votes they needed from West Germany's Social Democratic party by

4. More than 10,000 Rumanians were recruited as agents and sent to the West to

5. According to Pacepa, street demonstrations in Washington were led by

6. Pacepa says that communist undercover officers and agents were sent abroad to take control of various organizations using "covers" such as

7. According to Pacepa, Monica Lovinescu was to be beaten instead of killed so that

8. Lenin wrote that to conquer a more powerful country one should take advantage of

9. The press is a prime target for subversion by the communists because one can use the power of the press to

10. The "domino theory" is

UNIT 3 EXAM

PART A. Answer the following questions to demonstrate your understanding of the unit.

1. Explain two methods used by the communists to "crush the enemy's will to resist."

2. Explain how President Ronald Reagan out-maneuvered a hostile press.

3. Explain how President Ronald Reagan frustrated Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev's effort to discredit the President's Strategic Defense Initiative?

4. Why did Eldridge Cleaver change his mind about the communists?

5. Why was the Communist Party purged following Ion Pacepa's defection to the West?

6. List four ways in which news can be misrepresented to the American public.

7. When the communists wish to take over a country by subversion, what four groups are frequent targets of their effort?

8. What makes it so difficult to respond to terrorism?

9. List four types of warfare used by the communists in Vietnam.

10. What lessons did the Vietnam war teach American strategists?

PART B. Select the answer which best completes each of the following statements.

1. Eldridge Cleaver was the leader of

a. the House on Un-American Activities b. Rumanian intelligence c. the Black Panthers d. the communist forces in Vietnam

2. Nuclear blackmail changed the way wars are fought because

a. no none wants to start a full-scale war b. most powers want to restrict warfare to one place at a time c. "Star Wars" will destroy the planet d. no one wants to be caught off guard e. a and b above f. c and d above

3. President Reagan ordered the U.S. Marines to invade Grenada because

a. a communist missile base was being set up there b. he wanted to conquer Grenada c. he wanted to retaliate for recent suicide-terrorist attacks against our forces there d. he wanted to avoid direct confrontation

4. Guerrilla warfare is characterized by which of the following?

a. "hit-and-run" attacks b. harassment and sabotage c. local revolutionaries d. atomic weapons e. conventional weapons f. all of the above except one g. three of the above

5. Which of the following countries have been able to resist communism?

a. Vietnam b. Indonesia c. Turkey d. North Korea

6. Which of the following methods have been used successfully against terrorism?

a. economic sanctions b. international "human rights" laws c. the Stretegic Defense Initiative d. direct retaliation

7. Communist agents may include any of the following EXCEPT

a. a nation's natural leaders b. emigres c. malcontents d. fanatics

8. Professional agitators might involve themselves in any of the following activities EXCEPT

a. leading protest marches b. demonstrations against the government c. heading up student organizations d. running for elected office

9. Screaming, angry mobs are helpful to the communist movement because

a. their causes are just b. angry mobs encourage constructive change c. angry mobs generate confusion and arouse hostility d. angry mobs help the established order stay in power

10. What happened to the House on Un-American Activities?

a. it continues today to identify subversive organizations in the United States b. it was merged into another government agency c. it was dismantled d. it changed leaders

UNIT FOUR

STRATEGIES OF PEACE: AID, NEGOTIATION, ARMISTICES, AND TREATIES

The point to keep in mind as we discuss peacemaking strategies and the "arms race" is that the United States and its allies maintain arms as a necessity of defense, whereas in the East arms are maintained to achieve the expansionist goals of the Soviets. The "arms race," therefore, is not a race between two contenders with the same goal.

This imbalance in our respective intentions affects what is known as the balance of power, which means an equivalency in arms, troops, and so on, sufficient to prevent one nation from imposing its will on another or interfering with the interests of another.

The "arms race" today, however, represents more a balance of terror than a balance of power, since each of the superpowers maintains ever-more destructive arsenals as deterrents.

But terror is nothing new to the expansionistic Soviets. Consequently, this gives them what is known as an aggressor's edge.

Aggression is defined in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary as "the practice of making attacks" and "hostile or destructive in behavior or outlook." The aggressor nation, then, has an advantage over a peaceful nation in that it can -- and will -- choose the time and place of combat. A nonaggressive leadership like the United States is left in the position of "stamping out fires" wherever and whenever they crop up -- a particularly frustrating and unsettling necessity for a nation whose people would like nothing better than to be left alone.

One year, then, it is the jungles of Vietnam; another year it is the Middle East or Africa. Or maybe the threat is nuclear missiles in Cuba, or a base in-the-building at Grenada, the target being the United States.

Somehow a peaceful nation must find a way to offset the aggressor's edge by using effective deterrence; in other words, by coming up with something that will discourage the Soviet leadership from pursuing a potentially deadly course, which is, in this case, world domination. Deterrence can come in the form of superior armed forces (troops), superior or more numerous arsenals, economic sanctions, negotiation, and treaties.

Unfortunately, unilateral disarmament and talking nicely are not deterrents. These amount to strategies of vulnerability when dealing with an aggressor.

For example, in 1965 Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara adopted a *doctrine of self-restraint*, which he and other American leaders thought might induce the Soviets to do likewise and, thus, lead to arms agreements that would benefit both sides. What he got was a massive effort by the Soviets to drive for superiority. Thus began a rapid change in what is called *the strategic balance*, and it is in this context that we shall consider this term.

"What is superiority?" asks Richard M. Nixon.

> "In our hands it was the safety margin that ensured that the Soviets would not risk a nuclear exchange . . . In Soviet hands it becomes the margin that enables them to proceed with local aggression without expecting a massive nuclear response [in return]. It also enables them to contemplate the final act in their drive toward world domination: a first strike against U.S. military targets that would effectively neutralize their second-strike capability. This would leave them in a position to deliver the final ultimatum: Surrender or be obliterated."*

Would the communists really do it? If they believed they would have to expend only a first-strike in order to deliver this ultimatum, then it might be worth it to them. Knocking out our military targets would do an unbelievable amount of damage to people and property, but it would not leave the Soviets without anything to conquer. It would still give them what they really want: our water ports, our industry, our agriculture, our minerals and most of our land. If the communists thought they could limit the area of radioactive fallout, and either destroy our *retaliatory* capability or scare us into not retaliating for fear of blowing up the world, the Soviet leaders, with their historical indifference to human suffering, might well be tempted to assume the risks of a nuclear first-strike.

Then the communists could deliver their surrender ultimatum. If we refused, they would probably target our population centers one at a time, knowing full well that we would *capitulate* after their first demonstration.

The communists also know full well that the United States would never commit to a first strike, that we would in fact be extremely reticent to use nuclear armaments at all. The reason is that the United States does not view nuclear war as *containable*, whereas the communists do. Herein lies another very basic difference in our two outlooks, and it is a probably the single most dangerous difference in our viewpoints that exists. Soviet Major-General Milovidov wrote in 1972:

> "But while weapons of mass destruction should not be underrated, neither should they be

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*Richard M. Nixon. *The Real War*. Warner Books, 1980, p. 153.

> overrated, viewed as some mystical force detached from society. This approach forms the basis of the concept of nuclear *fatalism*. This concept is based on three main *premises*: (a) recognition of the enormous destructive force of modern weapons; (b) the idea of unlimited employment of modern weapons in a nuclear war; (c) acknowledgment of the overwhelming superiority of modern offensive weapons over defensive weapons.
>
> "The first of these premises is self-evident. The others are open to serious question. As has been stated, **nuclear weapons, just as other weapons, constitute a means of implementing policy . . .**
>
> **"Consequently, the existence of sophisticated hardware making possible the annihilation of hundreds of millions of persons by no means signifies the irrevocable doom of mankind if a nuclear war erupts.** The concept of nuclear fatalism is fundamentally faulted . . .
>
> "'Regardless of the degree of destruction,' wrote Lenin, 'it cannot be erased from history; it will be difficult to restore, but no devastation will be sufficient to make this civilization and culture disappear entirely.'
>
> "There is profound error and harm in the . . . claims of bourgeois *ideologues* that there will be no victor in a thermo-nuclear war."*

Notice that Major-General Milovidov has no trouble with us "bourgeois ideologues" believing that nuclear war will mean the end of the world; it is only dangerous, apparently, if the Soviets believe it. "Genuine revolutionaries," he states further on, "do not fall into a state of despair and pessimism in the struggle to prevent war." Milovidov goes on to describe how the Soviets will "help" the workers of the world to "mercilessly and irrevocably sweep Capitalism from the face of the earth." He again quotes the master communist, Lenin, who compares devastating war to childbirth. "While individuals die in childbirth," he says, "a society born from the new structure cannot perish; its growth and development [will become only] slower."

At about the same time, in a speech by another Soviet, a Major-General K. Bochkarev, commented:

> "Marxist-Leninists are not panicked in the face of the terrifying danger created by Imperialism nor depict it as the prelude to the 'end of the

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*Major-General A. S. Milovidov, *The Philosophical Heritage of V. I. Lenin and Problems of Contemporary War*, Voyenizdat, Moscow, 1972. Editor-in-chief, pp. 126-128.

> world.' . . . [I]t is necessary to understand clearly that the bourgeois pacifists' arguments about the 'end of the world' in such a war and the impossibility of victory benefit only the aggressor . . . Nuclear war, despite its destructiveness, does not diminish the problem of struggle and the correlation of forces."[**]

Thus we see that the "image" for a proper Soviet communist, or "true revolutionary," is one of fearlessness, toward the nuclear danger. Indeed, Bochkarev makes it clear that the communists should not only remain unintimidated by the idea of nuclear war, they should expect to win it!

So we cannot operate on the supposition that the communists would not start a nuclear war or that they would be reticent to use nuclear weapons because of their destructive capability. We cannot appeal to the "higher" motives of the Soviet leadership or to their sense of morality. To the Soviets, nuclear arms are just chess pieces in a primarily political battle, and nuclear weapons are just like any other weapons, only more powerful.

Moreover, the communists completely reject the idea that both sides in a nuclear exchange would be losers.

Consequently the United States has had to evolve other ways to deal with the Soviets, some of which involve arms and, to an increasing degree, methods which do not.

The first term we must become very clear about is *strategic.* The term, of course, comes from the word *strategy*, which means "a clever scheme" or a "skillful plan." But when used in its adjective form with a military *connotation*, "strategic" means "designed to strike an enemy at the sources of its military, economic, or political power." Similarly, a *strategic* weapon, (for example, a missile) is one that is either more powerful or more sophisticated than a *conventional* weapon, like a tank or machine gun.

Thus when we talk about one or the other side having "strategic advantage," we mean that the locations of its weapons sites (especially missile bases) are such that they can attack targets which are superior to what the other side can attack. In other words, if the communists could aim a missile directly at Washington, D.C., from Cuba, that would be strategically superior to our being able to, say, hit Siberia from a *silo* in Arizona. By the same token, if the communists can take over the countries around the Persian Gulf or the southern coast of Africa, that would put them in a "strategically superior position" because they would control not only the ports through which various critical resources go to the West and its allies, but they would be in excellent position to ward off any attack by "conventional" forces (troops) because it is easier to defend a continent that is at one's back than to secure it via an invasion from air or sea. Why is that? Because one must bring both men and artillery across the sea or by air to get through to the land. If, on the other hand, one already has an entire country from which to work, or retrieve supplies, then you can spend time simply keeping the enemy off the occupied territory.

[**] Major-General K. Bochkarev, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, 'Nuclear Arms and the Fate of Social Progress,' *Sovestskaia Kirgizii*, 25 August, 1970.

So that is one of the reasons why the communists favor subversion of nations over outright military operations. They want strategic bases from which to work. Obviously, in that context, the communists do not view terrorism as a military operation.

The Peace Corps and Foreign Aid Programs

The United States has tried two approaches to counteract subversive efforts on the part of the Soviets. One was The Peace Corps during the John F. Kennedy administration. The Peace Corps was designed to help backward nations, which are usually the most vulnerable to subversion, to gain some understanding of modern methods, in farming, building roads, improving education and other undertakings necessary for a higher standard of living. Leaders of the Kennedy Administration reasoned that if these backward nations could just raise their own standard of living, (1) some of the poverty would be alleviated so that leaders could concentrate on something more than mere survival, and (2) internal unrest and revolution would not be so frequent. This would mean that these nations would not be so desperate to believe every line the communists might promise them.

So the United States asked for volunteers to staff these programs of peace, and modern technology was carted in along with the American teachers who would show Third Worlders how to use them.

This program met with some limited success, but the task proved to be more difficult than anyone had bargained for. For one thing, the populations of these Third World nations often were superstitious believers in their own methods and didn't understand either the necessity for or the principles involved in the "new" technology. In short, they often preferred their own ways. Secondly, the "new" methods we introduced often failed to take into account other existing problems and, so, didn't work as well as expected. For example, a more modern method of harvesting rice in China did not take into account the rainfall pattern and other peculiarities of the geography, and so caused the land to erode in such a way that crops would not grow the next season.

Moreover, the Peace Corps experience has turned out to be an educational experience for both the teachers and the learners. It has, in some ways, helped to spread good will, but it also taught us much about the hardships in other nations.

Another approach, favored by every administration from Eisenhower on, is *foreign aid*. This is primarily *economic* assistance aimed at gaining the good will of foreign nations. Sometimes the assistance is in the form of modern technology (nonmilitary), sometimes it is foodstuffs, raw materials, or just money. The policy, at least officially, is a "no strings attached" arrangement. Unofficially, it is hoped that the United States and her interests will be seen as friendly and worthy of support.

The problem with foreign aid is that, first of all, often the populations themselves have no idea who is supplying what. Missionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua report that when food or goods are passed out, there is nothing about it being from the United States. Indeed, sometimes natives believe that what we are sending is coming from Moscow.

A second problem arises in that, while people may get something they need for that week or that month, they do not know how, or are unable, to get the same thing themselves later. This leads to severe frustration and can even lead to increased tensions in a country. Economic aids do not solve problems like chronic unemployment in a foreign country any more than welfare solves unemployment in this country.

Even so, many experts maintain that if the economies of Third World nations can be shored up, or bolstered, just long enough for their governments to become stable, they will be able to hold out and, ultimately, to defend themselves against aggressors like the Soviet Union. Without our help, experts argue, there is no way these struggling nations will ever make it on their own, much less hold out against subversion or invasion. It is pointed out that the United States and the advanced nations of Western Europe had hundreds of years to work out the problems that led to technological and political advancements we now enjoy, but that emerging nations need to have that chance, too. They need a chance to make mistakes, to change and improve and reevaluate what they are doing. But between the Soviets breathing down their necks and constant famine or disease, they aren't going to get that opportunity without our help.

This may well be the case, and in that context perhaps they need all the economic help we can give them -- except that still another problem comes into play: human rights.

Military Aid and Human Rights

As indicated in an earlier chapter, many of the leaders of these emerging nations see their problem more as one of keeping themselves in power and their country stable than of helping their people. Thus in some instances their methods of discouraging the opposition are little better than the Soviets' -- money better spent on helping their suffering masses are squandered on tribal wars and other destructive efforts instead.

The term "human rights" came out of the Carter Administration, but it had its roots in post-World War II sentiment, which says, essentially, that human beings have certain inalienable rights, most particularly life -- never mind the liberty or pursuit of happiness. In other words the very least people ought to have, according to our view, is assurance that they will not be brutalized by their own leaders. Again, we are looking at this issue in terms of our own experience and not from the viewpoint of leaders in historically troubled countries. Our media encouraged the interpretation that in no country where leaders practice brutality should the United States give foreign aid. In other words, if we aren't going to give aid to the Soviets, who practice brutality, then it is reasonable that we shouldn't give it to any other nation where brutality is going on either.

This interpretation eliminates practically every nation in the Third World and South America as a candidate for American foreign aid, and it puts us in the position of trying to determine what an "acceptable" level of brutality is. Obviously, no form of brutality is acceptable to us. So while we are busily trying to determine other, more suitable, criteria, the Soviets are mopping up in first one country and then another.

And so we come to still another strategy: military aid.

To remain in keeping with what we learned in the Vietnam era about trying to fight wars for somebody else, we have, since the Nixon Administration, sent military aid to nations in trouble in the form of arms and advisors, but not men, except in a "peacekeeping" capacity. What we are trying to do in every case, of course, is to counter the Soviet weapons, materials, and training which arrives in great quantities from proxy nations like Cuba and Libya. Naturally, when we do so, we are called Imperialists by the Soviets and even by our own media, which apparently fears that we will step over the tenuous line that separates sending arms from sending American soldiers. Still living in the shadow of the Vietnam years, Americans want desperately to keep American troops out of foreign countries, regardless of the circumstances.

Our current strategy of military aid, then, goes back again to the Nixon Administration because it was during those decisive years of the late sixties and early seventies that American experts began to realize that the basics of warfare had changed. Former President Nixon explains:

> More nuclear bombs, unquestioned military superiority, and massively superior economic strength will not deter revolutionary war, terrorism, or other forms of communist aggression that fall short of conventional war. . . . It makes no sense to use a sledgehammer to kill a fly. that kind of enemy calls for a less powerful but more effective weapon -- a fly swatter.

> In these situations it is not the balance of power in the arsenal that counts, it is the balance of power on the battlefield. If we are relatively equal to the Soviet Union in nuclear arms, but the Soviets have 5,000 Cubans, or even 500 agitators and terrorists, where we have no . . . force, then the balance of power on the scene is massively on their side. Local defense forces are the ones best equipped to deal with these [local] threats, but if the aggressor is receiving aid from outside, those defending freedom must also have aid from the outside.*

Thus was born what became known as the Nixon Doctrine: the United States would supply arms and assistance to nations threatened by aggression IF they were willing to assume primary responsibility for providing the manpower for their defense.

Some, including many in the American media, argue that it is just as immoral for us to send arms to another nation, threatened or not, as it is for the Soviets to do so. But these critics miss one important point: that there is almost no case on record since World War II in which arms provided by the United States have been used for aggressive purposes by the country receiving them. Soviet arms, on the other hand, are always used to break the peace. Another point, too, is that the Soviets are more than willing to sell war materials to anyone who wants them simply to encourage confusion and chaos. While the communists cannot expect to fulfill any promises of economic prosperity to leaders of troubled nations, they can guarantee these leaders power if they turn to the Soviet Union for help.

So military aid in the form of arms, not men, has been one of the strategies used to contain communism, while other methods are used to strive for peace.

Linkage, Detente, and Negotiation

Negotiation is the art of discussing matters with another so as to arrive at some kind of settlement. When applying this term to discussions between leaders of foreign nations, it is crucial to be able to handle delicate matters without arousing hostility. That is called diplomacy. The two terms necessarily go together. To be a successful negotiator one must first have learned to be diplomatic. The art of diplomacy is the business of "international relations."

Through the process called "negotiation," American presidents since before Roosevelt have tried to work out problems and concerns with other nations. Generally, it is a give-and-take process that helps nations to bridge cultural differences and avoid misunderstandings. With totalitarian regimes like Hitler's Third Reich and the Soviets, however, whose leaders are not interested in bridging differences or solving problems, negotiation requires a different approach.

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*Richard M. Nixon. The Real War. Warner Books, 1980, p. 197.

When dealing with the Soviets, all experienced negotiators agree that certain guidelines are necessary:

1. Weakness or indecision on the part of an American negotiator is undesirable because it can lead the communists to test American will, as happened when the Soviet leader followed the Vienna summit conference of 1961 by placing missiles in Cuba in 1962.

2. An American negotiator cannot assume that his values or goals are the same as the Soviets. For example, in America, leaders are greatly affected by public opinion, but in Russia, the Soviet leaders are affected only by their own interests. They don't worry about public opinion. Another example is our different viewpoints on the use of force. We are taught from childhood that force is wrong; consequently, it is tempting to go into negotiations with the Russians with promises not to use force. In Russia, however, the use of force is a virtue, and when Americans indicate that they are not willing to use force, the Soviet negotiators take that as a sign of weakness. Still another example is our differing ideas of "peace." American negotiators do not need to convince the Soviets that our nation is for peace. They already know that. What they want to know is whether they can win a war against us or not.

3. American negotiators must be consistent, just as a parent must be consistent with a small child. If American negotiators say that certain things will occur as the result of the Soviets' behavior, then they must be very sure that the United States will carry through on the threat if future negotiations are ever to be taken seriously. If Americans appear to be not in complete agreement, or if they fail to follow through on statements that have already been made, the Soviets conclude that there is always a chance that Americans will concede on something more important.

4. American negotiators must always negotiate from a position of strength and never give anything to the Soviets unless the United States gets something in return. As British strategist B. H. Liddell Hart explained: "The less that a nation has regard for moral obligations the more it tends to respect physical strength."

What good, then, has come out of negotiations with the Soviets?

Overall, the Soviets have received more concrete benefits from negotiations than we have. American negotiators have, of course, avoided all-out war for more than forty years, but at very high cost. What we really want -- namely, for the Soviets to stop all efforts to take control of other nations -- has evaded us. But, then, what the Soviets want -- namely, unchallenged access into any country they care to move into -- has evaded them also.

Thus what American leaders seek from negotiation has evolved into more realistic, less sweeping aims. Basically what American leaders are trying to accomplish today through negotiation are two things: (1) to contain, or limit, communism to where it already exists, and (2) to make it advantageous for the Soviets to seek peace.

The key here is the word "advantageous." If we are ever to have any chance at real peace with the Soviets, the communist leadership must truly believe that it is to their advantage to have it. Otherwise, they will continue to seek chaos, warfare, and confusion to get what they want.

So, besides the long-range goal of world domination, what do the communist leaders want?

This the question to which President Richard M. Nixon and his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, turned their attention in 1969. They decided at that time that what the Soviets wanted over the short-term were the grand press which summit meetings provide them, economic cooperation, and strategic arms agreements. Notice that the wording here says, "arms agreements," not "arms limitations," and "economic cooperation," not "economic help for the Russian people." Wording becomes very important in matters of negotiation.

President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger then decided what it was that the United States most desired over the short term. We wanted the communists to stop their efforts to overthrow governments in Africa and Vietnam, to stop supporting Fidel Castro's "Hessians" in Cuba, to stop intervening in the Middle East, to pull their Red Army back inside the Soviet bloc, and to end their attempts to gain control of the Persian Gulf.

So they came upon a plan, called "linkage," in which the goals of the United States were "linked" to the goals of the Soviet Union. The United States would work with the Soviets on one of the goals which interested them PROVIDING that they would work with the United States to pursue one of the goals which interested us.

From a position of strength, this approach does yield some results, although they are not of a spectacular nature. The first time the concept was attempted took two years of negotiation, and the result is known as SALT I, which is described further on.

Another negotiating strategy, again initiated by President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, is known as detente.

Literally defined, detente means the relaxation of tensions. The object of the detente strategy of the Nixon Administration, however, was the avoidance of nuclear war by increasing the understanding between nations with different interests. Nixon's idea was to emphasize cooperation instead of competition between our two nations.

What kind of cooperation did the United States seek from the communists? Cooperation in helping to maintain a stable world order. President Nixon and Henry Kissinger worked hard to provide economic and other incentives for the communists to do just that.

But there are two parts to the detente strategy: cooperation and containment. As President Nixon put it: "The Russians will have no incentive to moderate their aggressive behavior if they find that aggression pays." Thus the Nixon-Kissinger strategy of detente, properly exercised, was essentially a punishment-and-reward scheme intended to discourage and contain Soviet aggressiveness and reward them when they cooperated.

For example, the Soviet economy is in terrible shape, and has been for a long time. The Soviet "ruble" is nearly worthless on every other nation's monetary exchange. Similarly, the Soviets need many of the goods, raw materials, and grain that we have, such as wheat. The Nixon Administration, therefore, hoped that if the United States rewarded the Soviets when they cooperated by helping them in these areas, and punished them when they went adventuring by denying them help in the economic areas, the Soviet leadership might come to see peace as an advantage and aggression as a disadvantage.

Again, small and painstaking gains were made using the dual approaches of linkage and detente. President Nixon probably established a better rapport with a Soviet leader than has any American President before or since. But because the gains were not more sweeping, and because many Americans were not properly informed at the time as to the purpose behind the detente-linkage strategies, the public became disenchanted and demanded something quicker and more substantial. Americans wanted somebody to come up with something more grand -- a brainstorm -- that would yield immediate and impressive results. Looking back, President Nixon concedes that even after three summit talks and visitations to the United States to the President's home in San Clemente, California, Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev never retreated from the position that his nation would continue to support so-called "wars of liberation."

Nevertheless, the concepts of detente and linkage remain important and useful strategies for peace, despite the painful slowness of tangible results. It must be kept in mind that brainstorms and revolutionary ideas often require people to change mental gears more quickly than they are really prepared to do. Today, President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative plan is such a brainstorm that has the potential to completely reshape the nuclear arms debate -- something the American people and the press have wanted to do for a long time. Yet, by a strange irony, when actually faced with the possibility of such sweeping change, one finds that the old ideas are given up only with great difficulty, and new ideas or approaches are taken up with reluctance.

"Parity" and Arms Agreements

The rationale behind the McNamara Doctrine of 1965, referred to earlier in this unit, was that there was "no indication that the Soviets [were] seeking to develop a strategic nuclear force as large as ours." We had the nuclear advantage, of course, at the close of World War II, and in the spirit of the American peace movements of the sixties, it was decided that if we would just restrain ourselves, the Soviets would also. Too, it was assumed that since both countries could, presumably, destroy the planet with the weapons already at hand, there simply was no point in going further with nuclear weapon development. We thought that would be as obvious to the Soviets as it was to us.

We soon found out that it wasn't obvious. We know now that the Soviets think in terms of a limited nuclear exchange as opposed to an all-out nuclear attack, and a limited exchange, the Soviets believe, is winnable.

That the Soviets were not building up their arsenals proved to be what the former head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Fred C. Ikle, has called a "massive intelligence failure." The forecast underestimated immensely the number of offensive weapons and nuclear forces that the Soviets would deploy. Soviet military expenditures for the 1970's turned out to be around 14 percent of their gross national product. Ours went from 9 percent in 1968 to only 5 percent of our GNP in 1978. The Soviets not only caught up with us but surpassed us.

Looking at conventional armaments alone, in 1979 the Soviets had more major surface combat ships that the U.S., twice the number of attack submarines, and a fleet of 70 cruise missile submarines (of which we had zero). They launched a nuclear submarine that went faster (40 knots) and dived deeper (more than 2000 feet) than anything the United States had. The Soviet communists had twice as many men under arms as we did, four times the number of artillery pieces, and produced 50 new tanks every month.

In strategic, or nuclear, forces, the Soviets produced and put into service seven new types of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) since the mid-1960's. A fifth generation of new Soviet ICBMs is now ready. In the same period, the Soviets deployed four new types of submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs).

What did we do in the same time span? We put one new ICBM and two new SLBM weapon systems into production. For the most part, we stayed with the old B-52 bombers of the fifties and early sixties, some of which were older than the pilots who flew them.

In 1979 Secretary of State Henry Kissinger testified before a Senate foreign Relations Committee:

> "Rarely in history has a nation so passively accepted a radical change in the military balance. If we are to remedy it, we must first recognize the fact that we have placed ourselves at a significant disadvantage voluntarily."

What follows is a review of the record on arms control agreements, taken from the President's December 1985 "Report on Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements." It is the last in a series of four reports over a two-year period, which conclude that "over a 25-year span the Soviets [have] violated a substantial number of arms control agreements" and report a "pattern of Soviet arms control violations, probable violations, or ambiguous activity in seventeen cases."

The seven most important arms control treaties we have signed with the Soviets are the SALT I ABM Treaty of 1963, the SALT II agreement, the Limited Test Ban Agreement of 1963, the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, the Geneva Protocol on Chemical Weapons, the Helsinki Final Act, and the Threshold Test Ban Treaty.

It was the Lyndon B. Johnson Administration which first sought parity, or equivalence, through strategic arms limitation agreements, beginning with the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, or SALT, as the negotiations came to be known.

Parity is an uneasy condition which assures that our strategic forces are sufficient for the tasks and purposes for which they were intended and that they are not inferior to the forces of the Soviet Union. Parity means that the Soviets would have no advantages that are not offset by U.S. advantages. Bluntly, it means that the Soviet Union must not have the capability -- or even **think** they have the capability -- to win a war against the United States. In other words, with parity, the Soviets hopefully would not be tempted to initiate a first strike against us.

Obviously parity is not risk-free, not as long as the Soviets have the "aggressor's edge." But it is better than inferiority, and this is what the SALT strategists were counting on.

So SALT I, with the accompanying Jackson Amendment, established equivalence, or parity, as the new United States policy. It is also known as the ABM Treaty (anti-ballistic missile treaty). It was first signed by both countries in 1972, with a follow-up signed in 1974 and an Interim Agreement limiting certain strategic offensive arms, also signed in 1972.

They have violated the ABM Treaty in several ways. The Soviets are constructing a large, ballistic missile detection and tracking radar near a place called Krasnoyarsk in Siberia. Interestingly, they were building it even as they were in the process of negotiating with the United States and were almost certainly aware that we would detect this violation.

Other suspected violations of the ABM SALT Treaty involve territorial defense systems, including the apparent testing and development of components, which may be ready in months instead of years; probable concurrent testing of air defense components and ABM components, which the treaty also prohibits; development of the SA-X-12, a modern air-defense system which is suspected of having ABM capabilities; and a demonstration of ability to reload ABM launchers and to refire an interceptor missile in a period of time shorter than previously noted.

The President's report notes that "[a] unilateral Soviet territorial ABM capability acquired in violation of the ABM Treaty could erode our deterrent . . . . Such a capability might encourage the Soviets to take increased risks in crises, thus degrading crisis stability."

The report also states that "[t]he Soviet Union has now also violated its commitment to the SALT I Interim Agreement through the prohibited use of remaining facilities at former SS-7 ICBM sites."

The SALT II, which concerns the limitation of strategic offensive arms and signed in 1979 has been clearly and irreversibly violated, states the President's report, by the Soviet testing and deployment of a prohibited new type of missile called the SS-25.

Verification problems and concealment practices on the part of the Soviets have also been causes for U.S. alarm.

To us, the term "verification" means that each side keeps tabs on the other to ensure that one of us isn't cheating. Presumably, then, each side would be permitted to inspect, by whatever means necessary, the military installations, factories, test sites, and so forth, of the other.

To the Soviets, "verification" has another meaning. to them, it means that they may use whatever means they choose to ensure that we are keeping our word, while the Soviets, meanwhile, (1) refuse to release geological data that would enable us to correctly interpret underground tests to see if they are exceeding the maximum-size limitation on explosive devises; (2) refuse us on-site inspection privileges; (3) structure their forces so as to hide any reloadable launchers they might have; and (4) increase the mix of mobile missiles, thereby making verification extremely difficult.

The President's December 1985 report states that Soviet concealment activities have become "more extensive and disturbing."

> Soviet failure to take corrective actions which the United States has repeatedly requested, are indicative of a Soviet attitude contrary to the fundamentals of sound arms control agreements. Soviet . . . concealment activities present special obstacles to maintaining existing arms control agreements, undermine the political confidence for concluding new treaties, and underscore the necessity that any new agreement be effectively verifiable.

This is why current popular support among some Americans for a "verifiable nuclear freeze" is deemed unrealistic by those who have had any experience in dealing with the Soviets. It seems clear in the first place that the Soviets have themselves generated this popular support for a "freeze" through their own disinformation and propaganda campaigns and that, in the second place, they would allow us to "freeze" our own nuclear arsenals while they continue to build in secret. In any case, the issue is not whether the superpowers stop building nuclear weapons; the issue is whether either side will use the ones it already has. That is the issue being addressed in the treaties we are discussing. No "freeze" will stop the use of existing weapons.

The President's report notes that the Soviets already had a program for biological and toxin weapons before they signed the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention and the Geneva Protocol Treaty. But after they had signed it, the Soviets not only failed to stop their illegal program, they expanded it and are still doing so. It is evident, in fact, that they have been using chemical warfare in Afghanistan. As it stands today, we have no defense against their biological warfare capability, and neither do our NATO (North American Treaty Alliance) allies.

In the area of nuclear testing, what little we can find out about Soviet activities indicate that they very likely have violated the maximum limit on that also.

And the list of violations and probable violations goes on:

-- use of remaining facilities at former SS-7 ICBM sites in violation of the SALT I Interim Agreement;

-- exceeding the strategic nuclear delivery vehicle limits in violation of SALT II;

-- probable deployment of the SS-16 in violation of SALT II;

-- underground nuclear test venting in violation of the Limited Test Ban Treaty;

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-- deployments of Backfire Bombers in a manner inconsistent with the Soviets' commitment to the SALT II Treaty.

What has United States policy been with regard to the same treaties? States the President's report:

> "In contrast with the Soviet Union, the United States has fully observed its arms control obligations and commitments, including those under SALT I and SALT II agreements."

In 1982, President Reagan decided to start a new round of talks, the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) to see whether the United States could somehow foster an atmosphere of mutual trust and restraint. He decided, despite misgivings about Soviet violations and inequities, not to undercut either the expired SALT I agreement or the unratified SALT II agreement. In 1985, the President suggested a further step in a long-sought Geneva meeting with Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev: to embark upon a program of exchange with the Soviet Union in the areas of art, music, education, and others. His hope is that if more Russians, including the Soviet leadership, are exposed to America and American ways, they will come to see plainly that the United States has no interest in conquering the Soviet Union and that there is no reason to be afraid of us. Hopefully, this will encourage the Soviets to mellow toward the United States and increase understanding between our two countries.

And, finally, the President has offered to share with the Soviets the technology which we develop (at our expense) to rid the world of nuclear terror.

Moreover, we have given -- and continue to give -- the Soviet Union the benefit of the doubt in every possible instance, and we are still waiting for a show of any similar attitude on their part. The upshot of the figures and analyses, however, is that until 1981 when President Reagan came on the scene, all the work of the previous administrations from Kennedy through Carter had only left the United States vulnerable to a first strike, and with strategic warning and communications systems susceptible to disruption, and possibly to outright attack.

Clearly, it is time for a new approach.

VOCABULARY LIST 4

NEW WORDS AND TERMS

balance of power -- an equivalency (not absolute equality) in arms, troops, and weaponry, sufficient to prevent one nation from imposing its will on another

equivalent -- (adj.) not identical but similar in worth; equivalency (n.)

arsenal -- (n.) storage of weapons and military equipment

deterrent -- (n.) something which discourages; deterrence (n.) -- the act of deterring (v.)

aggressor's edge -- the advantage that an aggressor has over a nonagressor

unilateral -- (adj.) one-sided, done by just one party or side

doctrine of self-restraint -- a stated principle (or official position) self-discipline or self-limitation (limits imposed on oneself in the hope that the other side will do likewise)

strategic balance -- equivalency in nuclear weaponry

capitulate -- (v.) give in; surrender

contain -- (v.) to keep within limits; to check or halt; containable -- (adj.) capable of being contained or halted

ideologue -- (n.) an advocate of a particular ideology (n.) -- ideas or theories that make up a social or political program

fatalism -- (n.) the belief that events are fixed in advance for all time and that human beings are powerless to change them; fatalist -- (n.) one who has a fatalistic view of world events

premise -- (n.) underlying principle

connotation -- (n.) something suggested by a word which is not really a part of the definition of the word

silo -- (n.) an underground structure where nuclear missiles are housed

foreign aid -- (n.) assistance (economic or otherwise) provided by one nation for another nation linkage -- (n.) a policy of negotiation in which the desires of one country are "linked," or connected, to something the other country wants

detente -- (n.) the avoidance of nuclear war by increasing understanding between nations having different interests

diplomacy -- (n.) the handling of delicate matters without arousing hostility; diplomat -- (n.) one who practices the art of diplomacy; usually one who travels to foreign countries as an official representative of a nation

negotiate -- (v.) to discuss with another so as to arrive at a settlement of some matter; to bring about through discussion an agreement or compromise; negotiator -- (n.) one who negotiates negotiation -- (n.) a conference in which such discussion takes place

virtue -- (n.) conforming to a standard of right; morality

intervene -- (v.) to come between, or interfere, for the purpose of settling some dispute or in order to prevent some action from taking place

monetary -- (adj.) relating to money

deploy -- (v.) to place into position (usually battle position)

gross national product (GNP) -- the total value of goods and services produced in a nation during a specified period of time (usually one year)

cruise missile -- a nuclear missile that flies so close to the ground as to be undetectable by radar

parity -- (n.) the state of being equivalent (but not equal)

SLBM -- submarine-launched ballistic missile

ambiguous -- (adj.) having more than one meaning; not clear

offensive -- (adj.) used to attack

defensive -- (adj.) used to defend

territorial -- (adj.) referring to territory

concurrent -- (adj.) occurring at the same time

degrading -- (adj.) humiliating; of low moral or intellectual character erode -- (v.) to destroy little by little

verification -- (n.) capable of being substantiated or proved; verify -- to establish as accurate, true, or real

geological data -- (n.) information gathered about the soil, earth, rocks

launcher -- (n.) a device that launches a rocket

unratified -- (adj.) not formally passed or approved; ratify -- (v.) to confirm; to approve by formal or official means

START -- Strategic Arms Reduction Talks

SALT I -- Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty I (1972) which would limit anti-ballistic missile systems

SALT II -- Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II (1979) which would limit strategic offensive arms

REVIEW WORDS AND TERMS

By now you should be able to remember some of the words and terms you learned in earlier lessons. Try to fill in the definitions for these words. Refer to earlier lists if necessary.

sanction

vulnerable

retaliate retaliatory

conventional

strategy strategic strategist

economic

agitator

stable unstable

ICBM

delivery system or vehicle

incentive

EXERCISE A. Fill in the blank with the most appropriate word from your vocabulary list.

1. Those in America who say "better Red than dead" mean that they would rather ______________ than to be killed.

2. Those who would have the United States get rid of its weapons whether the Soviets do or not are advocating a policy of _______________ disarmament.

3. When the U. S. Marines went into Grenada in 1983, they found vast military ______________ in warehouses there.

4. The ______________ behind the doctrine of self-restraint was that since both the United States and the Soviet Union had more than enough weapons to blow each other up, it was unncessary to keep building.

5. A person who believes the world is doomed regardless of what people try to do about it is a _______________.

6. An _______________ is often found speaking out on political topics.

7. Because the inexperienced farmer kept planting crops in the same spot every year, the soil began to _______________.

8. Tommy and Larry had been arguing for so long that finally the teacher had to ____________.

9. French ______________ work at the embassy in Washington, D.C.

10. It is the ______________ team in football that is supposed to make the touchdowns.

11. Honesty is a ______________.

12. At 18 years old, Margaret thought that it was ______________ to have to get permission from her parents to spend the night with a girl friend.

13. Both the Jews and the Moslems claim to own Palestine in Isreal, therefore they are involved in a ______________ dispute.

14. In order for a new law to be passed, it must be ____________ by Congress.

15. Paul's mother asked to see the composition he wrote so that she could ______________ that he had done his homework.

16. If two courts of law have each found a man guilty of theft, they can give the criminal ________________ sentences.

17. Understanding the causes of earthquakes would require scientists to collect vast amounts of _________________________.

18. The term "sanitation engineer" is sometimes used instead of "janitor" because the _________________ of the first term is more professional.

19. If doctors want to _________________ a rapidly spreading cancer, they often resort to radiation treatments.

20. To ______________ a satellite into space one must send it up using a ______________.

EXERCISE B. Complete the following statements to demonstrate your understanding of the vocabulary section.

1. An effective deterrent to smoking would be

2. If someone calls you a "penny pincher," the connotation is that you

3. If the government has a bad monetary policy, chances are that the economy will

4. Examining the gross national product is one way to judge whether the economy is

5. An unverifiable treaty is one which

UNIT 4 REVIEW

REVIEW EXERCISE A. Mark each of the following statements "true" or "false." Be prepared to give reasons for each statement you mark "false."

________ 1. The only object of the so-called "arms race" is to see which power can build the most destructive weapons the fastest.

________ 2. A "balance of terror" does not bother the Soviet leadership because it is used to conducting its affairs on that basis.

________ 3. The doctrine of self-restraint was intended to end the arms race.

________ 4. Unilateral disarmament on the part of the United States would be a good strategy to achieve peace.

________ 5. Nuclear superiority in the hands of the Soviets is no different than nuclear superiority in the hands of the United States.

________ 6. The communists would probably not attempt a first strike unless they thought they could knock out the United States' capability to respond.

________ 7. The United States views nuclear war as containable.

________ 8. Five hundred Soviet agitators and terrorists and 5000 Cuban proxy troops all aimed at conquering a small country in the Middle East is equivalent to the United States having 450 nuclear bombs to protect that same country.

________ 9. Even if nuclear war did occur, the Soviet leaders believe that society will continue to grow and develop, only slower.

________ 10. An example of a strategic weapon would be a hand grenade.

________ 11. It is easier to launch an attack from the sea than it is to fight with the land at one's back.

________ 12. The Peace Corps was started during the Kennedy Administration

________ 13. Foreign aid is one method of solving unemployment in undeveloped nations.

________ 14. Emerging nations need a chance to make their own mistakes.

_______ 15. Military aid from the United States to nations in trouble since the Vietnam War has been limited mainly to weapons, materials, and training.

REVIEW EXERCISE B. Select the best completion for the following statements.

1. The Nixon Doctrine states that

a. the United States would supply troops but no weapons to countries threatened by communism b. the United States would supply weapons and assistance but no troops to countries threatened by communism c. the United States would no longer be able to help countries threatened by communism d. the United States would declare war on the Soviet Union if they threatened any more countries

2. The Soviet SS-25 missile is

a. legal under current agreements b. a defensive weapon c. prohibited under SALT II d. unverifiable

3. The new Soviet tracking radar at Krasnoyarsk in Siberia represents

a. a violation of the ABM treaty b. a violation of the Helsinki Final Act c. a new illegal offensive weapon d. a new type of Soviet launcher

4. American negotiators today are trying to accomplish all of the following goals in negotiations with the Soviets EXCEPT

a. assurances that the Soviets will never again threaten another country b. to limit communism to where it currently exists c. to make it advantageous for the Soviets to cooperate with us d. to convince the Soviets that the nations of the world should be capitalistic e. short-term goals

5. The Nixon-Kissinger plan called "linkage" meant that

a. the United States would work with the Soviets to achieve one of their goals provided that they worked with the United States to achieve one of our goals b. the United States might be willing to help the Soviets obtain some of their peaceful goals c. the United States intended to attack the Soviets every time they went into territory that didn't belong to them d. all of the above e. two of the above.

6. The detente strategy of dealing with the Soviets emphasizes

a. strength over weakness b. conventional weapons over strategic weapons c. social spending over military spending d. cooperation over competition

7. The second part of the detente strategy is

a. a nuclear freeze b. containment of communism c. exchanges of science and technology d. economic sanctions

8. The Soviet monetary currency is

a. worth about as much as the American dollar b. nearly worthless c. worth more than the French "franc" d. is slowly increasing in value

9. Even though the linkage-detente policies of the Nixon Administration did yield some gains, some people were disenchanted because

a. the gains were too slow b. the communists coantinued their "wars of liberation" c. they wanted somebody to come up with a brainstorm to solve the problem of U.S.-Soviet relations d. they didn't understand the linkage-detente strategies e. none of the above f. all of the above

10. In reviewing the President's December 1985 "Report on Soviet Noncompliance" it is clear that

a. the Soviets have tried to keep their end of arms control agreements b. the United States has achieved "parity" with the Soviet Union c. the Soviets have violated most of the agreements d. the Soviets have not only violated most of the agreements but expanded their illegal programs

REVIEW EXERCISE C. Discuss the following topics in your class.

1. What are the problems with verifying a nuclear freeze.

2. What kind of defense do we have against biological warfare?

3. How will a nuclear freeze stop the use of nuclear weapons that already exist?

4. What can the United States hope to achieve by trading superiority for parity.

5. What are some of the violations of existing treaties and agreements and how do they affect the balance of power?

UNIT 4 EXAM

PART A. Complete the following statements or answer the questions, as indicated, to demonstrate your understanding of the unit.

1. "Arms race" is a misleading term because it suggests that

2. Whatever upsets the balance of power is dangerous because

3. The "aggressor's edge" means that

4. When American leaders complain that they spend all their time "stamping out fires," they mean that

5. Since we both can kill each other many times over, what difference does it make who has nuclear "superiority"?

6. Why can we not appeal to the Soviets' sense of morality and justice when we call for an end to nuclear weaponry?

7. What were the premises behind the Peace Corps?

8. When we say that foreign aid has "no strings attached" it means that

9. When former President Richard Nixon says that "it makes no sense to use a sledgehammer to kill a fly," he means that

10. What is the difference between "arms limitations" and "arms agreements"?

11. EXTRA CREDIT. Name one country which did use arms provided by the United States to attack other nations.

PART B. Select the best choice to complete the following sentences.

1. The December 1985 "Report on Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements" states that the Soviets have violated arms control agreements

a. in the last four years b. over a 25-year period c. only in the area of SALT II d. mainly during the Nixon Administration

2. Soviet military expenditures in the 1970's were

a. about the same as our own b. less than that of the United States c. a little more than that of the United States d. more than double that of the United States

3. The McNamara Doctrine of 1965 was based upon

a. linkage b. detente c. competition d. self-restraint

4. By 1979, the Soviets had

a. more nuclear weapons than the United States b. more conventional weapons than the United States c. more ready troops than the United States d. all of the above

5. A condition known as parity was established with

a. the SALT I treaty and the Jackson Amendment b. the SALT II treaty c. the Threshold Test Ban Treaty d. the Geneva Accords

6. Parity means that

a. the United States and the Soviet Union would be equal militarily, weapon for weapon b. all the NATO nations would have equivalent forces c. the Soviets would have no advantages that are not offset by U.S. advantages d. neither side could depoly strategic weapons without the consent of the other

7. If the Soviets should acquire more territorial anti-ballistic missile capability than the United States, it would be dangerous to world stability because

a. the United States would have to retaliate b. it violates the SALT II treaty c. it might encourage the Soviets to take increased risks during a crisis d. it would make every defensive weapon the United States has obsolete

8. There is evidence that the Soviets have

a. used chemical weapons in Afghanistan b. used biological weapons in Nicaragua c. used nerve gas in Poland d. found antidotes for biological weapons

9. The American media tends not to favor sending troops or arms to nations in trouble because

a. it wants the Soviets to win b. members of the press are better judges of foreign policy decisions than the President c. the media worries that the United States will get involved in an all-out war d. the media and the President never agree witha each other

10. Successful negotiation with the Soviets depends on all of the following EXCEPT

a. being strong and making firm decisions b. making certain the Soviets know the United States will not use force c. being consistent d. not assuming that the United states and the Soviet Union share the same values

UNIT 5

THE HIGH FRONTIER ROAD TO FREEDOM: SDI

At any moment in time, everything we cherish can be incinerated in a matter of minutes by Soviet nuclear weapons. If our President were notified today of the approach of Soviet missiles, he would only have two options:

1. Strike back at Soviet military targets and/or cities, causing incredible human, property, and environmental destruction, only to expect a second Soviet attack aimed against our population centers.

2. Do nothing, surrender, and expect the most brutal sort of occupation by the Soviets.

In short, our lives, property, and liberty could actually be lost on what might amount to a bluff, or hollow threat, on the part of the communist leaders. This is what nuclear blackmail is all about. It is also the strategy involved in the balance of terror known as MAD, or Mutual Assured Destruction.

As we have seen from the statements and writings of Soviet leaders in the previous unit, the communists view a nuclear war as both containable and winnable, and they do not consider modern nuclear weapons to be either as deadly or as frightening as we view them. To the communists, "loss" is an entirely relative term. Historian Richard Pipes puts the Soviet rationale in perspective:

> A country that since 1914 has lost, as a result of two world wars, a civil war, famine, and various "purges," perhaps up to 60 million citizens, must define "acceptable damage" differently from the United States which has known no famines or purges, and whose deaths from all the wars waged since 1775 are estimated at 650,000 -- fewer casualties than Russia suffered in [a] 900-day siege of Leningrad in World War II alone.

So while we seek to "reeducate" the Soviets through the strategies for peace, described in the previous unit -- such methods as deterrence, containment, linkage, detente, economic sanctions, arms agreements, negotiation, summit talks, and friendly exchanges in the arts and education -- we need also to consider some sensible means of defending ourselves that does not entail blowing apart the planet.

As indicated previously, the mutual assured destruction, or MAD, strategy came into existence because in the 1960's U.S. theories of arms control and deterrence were based on the idea that nuclear weapons beyond those necessary to devastate entire cities lacked political or military credibility. Modern nuclear weapons, our leaders said then, were simply so destructive that there was no purpose in either side continuing to build them. In that context, treaties like the ABM Treaty made sense.

But we were thinking in terms of an all-out attack, an exchange that could not be controlled, and which, therefore, could not be won by either side. The Soviets, on the other hand, were working under the assumption that a limited nuclear exchange could be controlled and won. The communists believe that a first-strike, capable of thwarting our ability to strike back, would inflict only "minimal" damage -- in other words, damage that is acceptable to the Soviets to win a war against us.

So there are several things wrong with the MAD strategy:

1. The Soviets don't believe it. They do not believe the nuclear balance of terror is "mad."

2. It is not a reasonable response from either a political or military point of view. Mass suicide is hardly a rational defense.

3. It is morally wrong since it implies that the deliberate slaughter of millions of human beings is a "proper" objective.

4. With today's nuclear technology, the threat of MAD makes the United States a hostage to Soviet aggression.

Whether or not MAD is lunacy, the reality is that we are today indeed vulnerable to Soviet first-strike attack and have been since SALT I, which stated, in effect, that the United States was willing to forego superiority if we could get an agreement with the Soviets based on parity, discussed in the previous chapter. As we have seen, this strategy did little more than to invite the Soviets to catch up with us -- and even to surpass us.

President Reagan and the SDI Rationale

What has been needed, then, is a completely new approach to defense and arms control. If one idea can serve as both a method of defense and a method of arms control, so much the better.

That is why President Ronald Reagan made his historic appeal to the scientific community in March of 1983. He knew the nations of the world could not go on in a perpetual balance of terror. He knew that terrorist organizations, both those supported and not supported by the Soviet Union, were well on their way to being able to deliver nuclear ultimatums of their own. The whole situation was becoming far too risky.

Scientists responded with the Strategic Defense Initiative, or SDI. It is based upon a principle of Mutual Assured Survival instead of Mutual Assured Destruction. Thus it offers hope

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rather than doom, life rather than death. And it takes advantage of an area in which we are still more advanced than the Soviet Union or anyone else -- space; thus it is appropriate, perhaps, that it should fall to the United States the task of safeguarding mankind from self-annihilation.

Objectives of the SDI Program

There is really only one goal of the SDI program: to remove the threat of first-strike destruction from long-ranged missiles. More specifically, the purpose of SDI is to defend against a massive barrage of intercontinental ballistic (nuclear) missiles, called ICBMs, launched in a first strike, either deliberately or accidentally, by another power.

This defense system would render obsolete the vast majority of Soviet intercontinental missiles right away because nearly 70 percent of all the Soviets' nuclear warheads are deployed on land-based missiles which have to exit the atmosphere in order to function. The SDI program is geared to intercepting and neutralizing any weapon that exits the atmosphere.

Because other methods of delivering nuclear weapons to a target -- for example, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, called SLBMs, and cruise missiles, which fly under radar close to the ground -- would not be effective as first-strike weapons anyway, the SDI system is not concerned with weapons like these. Besides, we already have the ability, in the case of SLBMs, to discover, track and sink them.

How SDI Works

Some have described Strategic Defense Initiative as an "astrodome defense," and perhaps that is a good way to begin thinking about it. Keep in mind the purpose of SDI. It is not a defense against every weapon known to man; it is a defense against nuclear weapons called ICBMs which must be launched into the atmosphere in order arrive at their targets. It is these nuclear weapons which would be used in a nuclear, first-strike attempt.

Strategic Defense Initiative takes advantage of the fact that there are four stages required to launch an ICBM: a boost phase, a bus "deployment" phase, a midcourse phase, and a terminal phase. To simplify the four stages in your mind, think of each stage of the attack this way: boost, post-boost, midcourse, and terminal. SDI would provide nonnuclear defense devices, based on what is called kinetic energy, at each of the four stage levels to obliterate the missiles. These kinetic energy devices would look something like high-powered pellets, which would destroy warheads by sheer impact.

If an attack against us were ordered, here is what would happen: Each nuclear missile would leave an underground compartment, known as a silo. Pressurized gases would be released so that the missile would be pushed out of the silo. Then the first-stage engines would ignite, signifying the beginning of the "boost" phase. This phase would last from three to five minutes.

At the end of the boost phase, all that would remain would be a very heavy device called a "bus," which carries numerous nuclear bombs, called "warheads," each one packaged in a "reentry vehicle," or RV. These RVs protect the warheads during the time when they reenter the atmosphere on the way to their targets. So for 20 or 30 minutes, the warheads would travel bullet-like in a course over the Arctic, until a computer onboard the "bus" tells each RV to reenter the atmosphere toward targets. The computer fires small rockets in such a way as to put each RV on course toward the various targets, one at a time. As the "bus" releases its computerized nuclear passengers, this is called the "post-boost phase." When the individual warheads begin turning earthward toward their targets, this is the "midcourse phase," and all that remains before impact is the reentry, or "terminal phase."

Twenty years ago, the only practical way of defending against an ICBM attack was to launch a missile from the ground that would meet an incoming warhead during the last, or terminal, phase, as it reentered the atmosphere, in order to obliterate it before it hit the ground, which is where radioactive fallout comes into play. But the Soviets soon learned to do the same and the only way around such a defense was to put so many warheads on a single incoming missile that "terminal-phase" defense became nearly impossible. The only way to "see" a missile being launched in an earlier phase is to have something out there in space that can detect it. Obviously, no one could detect a missile being launched in, say, Siberia from here in the United States. But a satellite up in space can detect such a launch as early as its initial, or first, phase -- the boost phase. This is the ideal time to "kill" a nuclear missile -- before it has time to do anything more than pierce the atmosphere.

The first level of the SDI defense system would be composed of a network of small space satellites, around 400, placed in overlapping orbits 300 miles above the earth. Each satellite would be deploying numerous small, heat-seeking interceptor missiles. As a satellite moves along overlapping orbital paths, continuous coverage of all required target areas is assured.

In the event of a confirmed nuclear missile launch, the sensors would track and home in on the heat from the missiles' exhaust, which is especially easy against the cold background of space. Once the enemy missile path, called a trajectory, is known, these low-orbit satellites would launch either small, nonnuclear rockets or kinetic-energy interceptor devices to knock out the enemy missiles, BEFORE the "bus" can release its nuclear passengers. Thus, as many as 10 bombs can be neutralized at a time, since they have not yet been released toward their targets.

This satellite portion of the SDI program is called the Global Ballistic Missile Defense One, or GBMD I, and most of the technology required to do it already exists. The network of satellites could be launched, deployed, and serviced using the Space Shuttle in five or six years, maybe less. The cost would be a small fraction of our overall defense budget.

The second level of the space-defense system, or GBMD II, is somewhat more sophisticated, but nonetheless feasible. Its purpose is to go into operation against nuclear missiles that somehow escape destruction by the satellites. GBMD II would cover the longer time span that is required for the attacking missiles to reach the atmosphere above the United States -- "post-boost" through "mid-course." The GBMD II layer of defense would intercept individual warheads after they had been deployed from the RV.

There are several methods envisioned for this:

-- a swarm of so-called "smart rocks" released either by orbiting devices called "rail guns" or fired into the atmosphere from ground-based rockets. "Smart rocks" are self-guided, kinetic energy projectiles that home in on a missile and slam into it, destroying it by sheer impact. A thrown rock moves by kinetic energy; so does a bullet. So no counter-explosives are required. One type currently being developed is about the size of a coffee can, fitted with bundles of electrons and tiny maneuvering rockets (for computerized guidance toward its destination).

-- more complex interceptor weapon, which will take longer to perfect, are called direct-energy weapons. These emit powerful beams of energy that can knock a target off its course, or destroy its electronic parts, or burn through the skin of an attacking missile so that it is destroyed without an explosion. Laser beams, which concentrate light in a tight beam and are already used to perform delicate surgery, such as destroying brain tumors, can be used to knock out missiles if built on a grander scale.

-- other variations on the laser idea are the chemical laser, the eximer laser, and particle beams. The chemical laser goes into action as soon as certain gases react with each other. A tight, narrow beam of infrared radiation is sent to a mirror that, in turn, swivels around to reflect, or aim, the beam at the nuclear missile and destroy it. An eximer laser uses a different chemical reaction to get things started and would involve the installation of large arrays of orbital "battle mirrors." Particle beams are streams of atoms and subatomic particles which carry an electrical charge to destroy a warhead. Although something known as an X-ray laser, which does utilize nuclear energy, has also been considered as a means of knocking out attacking missiles at the start of their flight, there are basing and launching problems connected with this approach that may well eliminate it from consideration.

Together GBMD I and II should effectively destroy more than 96 percent of all missiles launched in an attack BEFORE they reenter the earth's atmosphere on their way to the United States.

Should any enemy missiles escape the first two space defense systems, however, a third level of ground-based "point defense" installations would protect our silos or any other military target in the United States. This system, keep in mind, would not have to operate against all the warheads coming in from a single RV since most would already have been destroyed. Instead, there would be at this point no more than one or two to worry about. This ground-based component of the defense, then, is designed to operate at short range with a group of small, very high velocity rockets. These have already been developed as part of existing defense systems, as indicated earlier on, and could be modified with the fast-firing gatling type guns already being used by our armed forces for other purposes.

Criticisms of SDI

Obviously the greatest critics of SDI are the Soviet leaders. They prefer the balance of terror for reasons explained in the previous unit. But there are other criticisms and questions, too, and we will consider these one at a time.

1. When the communists accept that we are going to deploy SDI whether they like it or not, will that provoke them into launching a nuclear attack for fear that we will do so ourselves after our defenses are in place?

That is not likely since the communists cannot at present knock out all our retaliatory capability with a first strike. True, we are vulnerable and the communists are much closer to matching us than they were even ten years ago, but the communists are not so secure that they want to risk all just yet.

Secondly, SDI itself is not threatening since it can only defend against already launched missiles. In other words, it is not an offensive weapon, so it cannot hurt the Soviets.

Finally, the Soviets already know that we are not going to launch a first strike against them.

2. Would we be violating the ABM Treaty if we put SDI in space?

The ABM Treaty is built around two principles: Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) and the idea that neither power should deploy weapons that threaten the other's retaliatory capability.

The first principle, MAD, is unworkable, too dangerous for both powers, and has been broken repeatedly already by the Soviet Union. The second principle, which is really a follow-up of the first refers to weapons of retaliation, whereas SDI is concerned with preventing a first strike.

Another interesting and not previously mentioned point is that the 1972 ABM Treaty is itself a violation of the Geneva Convention "Rules of Warfare" which state that civilians must be protected from the effects of war whenever possible. The ABM Treaty would do precisely the opposite since MAD guarantees their destruction. In 1977, the United States insisted that a clause be added stating that nothing in these "Rules of Warfare" applied in the case of nuclear war, as a condition for our signing the document. Were it not for our addition of that clause, the ABM Treaty would also have been unsignable.

The whole point of SDI, however, is that it provides a sane alternative to the ABM Treaty, which promotes MAD. The MAD doctrine is too dangerous to live with, and the United States is attempting to come up with something better than this principle. Thus, the whole argument concerning whether or not SDI violates the ABM Treaty is beside the point.

3. Won't the Soviets hurry to match our new defense system with something of their own?

Good. Let them. Then maybe we can get rid of obsolete nuclear weapons. In fact, President Reagan has offered to share SDI with them. The point is that it is in everybody's best interests if the Soviets concentrate on defensive rather than offensive weapons.

4. Won't SDI be so expensive that we couldn't afford it and won't it take too long anyway?

The cost of a basic and adequate SDI system, which does not include any directed energy weapons (like laser beams) could be deployed in 10 years for $20 billion. That is about $3 billion a year for 10 years. Much of this expense can be absorbed by reducing funding for offensive nuclear weapons and other programs that would no longer be needed. Indeed, our allies might even assist us, since SDI would benefit them as well. If we decided to speed up the program in such a way as to be able to use mass production techniques, the cost for GBMD I alone could be reduced to just over $15 billion spread over a six-year period.

To give you some cost comparisons, One of the proposals for the Peacekeeper missile, known as the MX, under the Carter Administration would have cost over $60 billion and would have required engineers to plow up half of Utah and Nevada in the process. Another weapon proposal, called the Peacekeeper Dense

Pack, would have cost well over $40 billion. So as defense programs go, SDI compares very favorably in cost.

There is another point to consider also. As we gain experience in space, we learn to make things and do things that would not be possible on earth. A full 50 percent -- that's half -- of all our consumer goods now on the market not only did not exist, but were not even possible, 20 years ago. The Apollo moon program returned at least $6 to the economy of our nation for each $1 the government spent putting it into operation. The big jump in computer technology is directly related to the space program. Miniaturization of parts -- which is why you can buy such small calculators, among other things -- comes out of technology learned in the space program. Studies now indicate that this 6-for-1 return will be many times greater when we begin to industrialize space, which we will if we get up there and start putting together a complex defense network. The taxes paid each year to the government on the profits from operating commercial communications satellites alone have been yielding a 100 percent return on the government's investment to develop them. In other words, United States citizens and their government haven't lost a dime on space research and development. Indeed, scientists are now on the verge of many breakthroughs in medicine and other areas if they can just get away from gravity for longer periods to pursue what they already know is possible. But it is not *cost effective* to send one or two people up to space to research or produce just one product. To be cost effective, it is necessary to send several people to do many jobs at one time. SDI would provide *incentive* for businesses on earth to invest in space research and space-made technology.

5. Won't SDI, then, ruin any chances for the peaceful uses of space?

In the first place, space is already *militarized*. As explained previously, ICBMs travel through space on their way to targets, so this means that space is already being used for military purposes. If we permit the Soviets to use space in this way, we are in effect providing them a demilitarized sanctuary, much as we did in Vietnam, from which they can destroy us. Over 70 percent of all Soviet satellites launched (and they put up about 100 each year) have been military missions. Some of their satellites are able to locate and provide targeting information about our ships on the high seas. Indeed, there is evidence that the Soviets may already be building their own space defense system, and they are developing a booster to launch a large, low-orbit military space station capable of putting enormous, 100-ton weapons in space. If we allow the Soviets to dictate what goes into orbit, they will also be able to dictate the terms of our surrender to communism.

The fact is that one of our primary requirements is protection of our communications satellites, research stations, and future orbital factories and laboratories. Without such protection, the great material and resource benefits of space will not be developed. No business or government is going to put up an expensive space laboratory if there is a risk of having it shot down. By the same token, today's communications satellites are vulnerable to attack and it would seriously disrupt our lives if they were sabotaged.

So SDI will ensure that space is used for peaceful purposes rather than the other way around. With SDI we can stop a nuclear war -- even AFTER the button is pushed.

6. Will SDI really work with technology currently available?

It is a fairly simple matter to intercept a ballistic missile during its boost phase. The heat from the booster's exhaust is easy to identify against the cold background of space. Once the booster is detected, an infrared-homing (heat-seeking) interceptor would be dispatched to home in on the ascending booster. The enemy missile would then be destroyed using the kinetic energy of a very high speed collision, either using the interceptor itself or a cloud of pellets ("smart rocks") dispersed by the interceptor.

In fact, on June 10, 1984, the U.S. Army conducted a test called the Homing Overlay Experiment. In this test, an interceptor rocket fired from Meck Island in the Pacific intercepted the dummy warhead of a test ICBM which had been launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California about 30 minutes before. The interceptor successfully demonstrated that interception and destruction of incoming long-range missiles is possible without the use of nuclear detonations.

7. But won't the Soviets just do what they have always done -- find some way to get around or destroy our system?

They would have a very tough time doing that this time. Let's look at some of the possibilities.

-- Evasive Action: The technology does not exist that would make it possible for an ascending booster to detect an approaching interceptor, change its flight path drastically, reorient itself, then go back to pursuing its target again. Besides, an interceptor device homes in on HEAT so it would continue to home in, or chase, the booster no matter what changes it made in course, and the pellets would impact the ICBM without fail.

-- Reflective Coatings: This approach, if it worked at all, would be effective only against lasers, since they are designed only to deflect concentrated light. A shiny coat would do nothing to hurt SDI.

-- More warheads: The Soviets might attempt to overwhelm a GBMD defense system by putting more reentry vehicles (RVs) on each missile. But since the satellite portion of the SDI system is designed to destroy most ICBMs during the boost phase, before the RVs are released, this would not do much good. Having 20 RVs in a missile or 3 RVs in a missile would make little difference because they would all be destroyed together inside the missile. The ground-based point defense, or the third defense layer of SDI, would deal with any additional RVs that survived the space-based defense layers.

-- More boosters: Some argue that the Soviets might simply send up more boosters. But because the satellites of SDI are arranged in an overlapping fashion so that there is continuous coverage around the globe, as soon as one satellite exits its location, another moves in to take its place. In short, the SDI system can deal with the boosters faster than the Soviets could ever hope to launch them -- not to mention how many millions of dollars apiece the Soviets would have to spend to try such a thing.

8. Well, if the Soviets can't get around it or overwhelm it, why wouldn't they just attack SDI? Isn't SDI vulnerable to attack?

No, because the satellites will shoot back. In fact, opponents and critics of SDI have thought up some very imaginative threats, and every one was clearly not workable. For example, one argument went that the deliberate detonation of a nuclear warhead in space would knock out the electronic brains of the satellites. But since the satellites are spread out at 1300-kilometer intervals to provide the continuous coverage, the Soviets would have to detonate one bomb for each satellite. What is more, as soon as they tried to launch such a bomb into space, the homing satellites would seek the booster out and destroy it before it had any chance. The Soviets would have no better luck trying to place detonating satellites ("mines") in orbit to destroy our satellites without our knowing about it. Even if they could do so, the constant adjusting of distance, altitude, and angle would make the whole idea unworkable.

What about "anti-satellite weapons" (called ASATs)? Again, they must be launched with a booster, which the SDI satellites are designed to knock out in the first place. Even those advanced ASATs that can be launched from aircraft must still come through the atmosphere the same way all the other ICBMs do.

So the SDI system is not only a superb defense against attack, it is the only defense that is itself invulnerable to attack.

9. But if the United States can still be attacked using SLBMs and cruise missiles, which also use nuclear devices, how

can SDI really help? Besides, unless SDI is 100 percent effective, wouldn't just one nuclear bomb getting through destroy us?

The purpose of SDI is to protect us against a devastating first strike by long-range missiles, which is the only kind of nuclear device that would make sense in a first strike. Cruise missiles and manned bombers are all too slow to be used as first-strike weapons. They are also not as potentially devastating as ICBMs, which carry multiple warheads on one missile.

As for being 100 percent invincible, we must remember that while the Soviet leadership may be ruthless, it is not stupid. What Soviet leader would launch everything he has in a first-strike attempt at the United States if he knows that he stands at the most a 4 percent chance of getting anything at all through? He might not get anything through. Such a strike would do virtually nothing to our retaliatory capability. It wouldn't be worth the effort, much less the money.

10. Even if SDI works perfectly, won't all the debris from detonation of nuclear warheads create a terrible fallout problem?

No. First of all, the SDI interceptors are nonnuclear and rely on kinetic energy, or impact, to destroy their targets. Secondly, it is very unlikely that the warheads of a Soviet missile would detonate. Keep in mind that most of the Soviet missiles would be intercepted in the first nine minutes, or boost phase, of flight -- that is, while they are still over Soviet territory or air space. Therefore, it is almost certain that the missiles would NOT be armed at that point -- otherwise they would detonate over the Soviet Union.

The warheads, in fact, are not likely to detonate in any case. Detonating a nuclear warhead is not as simple as you might imagine. Each warhead contains a detonation device which must be armed and triggered. If the missile along with the triggering device is destroyed first, there is no detonation.

Even if there were detonation in space, there would be no fallout. Fallout is generated by a nuclear burst near the ground, in which great quantities of dirt, dust, and debris are sucked up into a mushroom cloud like you see in pictures. The mushroom cloud is THEN made radioactive and spewed into the upper atmosphere to filter back down to earth. But in space there is nothing to irradiate. There is no dust, no dirt, no nothing. Any small radioactive particles would burn up long before reentering the earth's atmosphere.

Moreover, SDI is the first defense system ever conceived that makes it possible to protect not only against Soviet aggression but against any other nation's or organization's nuclear attack. It can be used to help others who are threatened as well as ourselves. It can be used to help our enemies by making such aggression useless. SDI is a military strategy that strikes a balance between offensive and defensive weapons and reduces the chance of death by miscalculation or error.

The Strategic Defense Initiative is a new approach to a problem that has plagued us long enough. It turns the tables on those who would have the nations of the world live in a state of perpetual nuclear terror.

The Soviet Union has shown beyond any doubt that it does not intend to honor treaties, that it rejects the concept of equivalence (or "parity"), that it is an offensive power rather than a peaceloving power. Other nations of the world have shown that they look to us as leaders, morally as well as physically for support in times of war or want. These nations have failed to come up with a workable solution to the nuclear standoff we all must face. Consequently it is in the interests of us all, including our communist enemies, to pursue peace through a realistic strategy of defense.

VOCABULARY LIST UNIT 5

NEW WORDS AND TERMS

incinerate -- (v.) to burn to ashes

relative -- (adj.) dependent on one's opinion or viewpoint

context -- (n.) conditions in which something exists or occurs

minimal -- (adj.) the least amount possible

perpetual -- (adj.) never-ending, continuing forever

terminal -- (adj.) last or end

silo -- (n.) an underground structure for housing a guided missile

orbit -- (n.) the circular path travelled by one body around another

interceptor -- (n.) a device which acts to interrupt the progress of something by overtaking it, intersecting with it, and seizing it

trajectory -- (n.) a plotted flight path

array -- (n.) a mathematically planned arrangement of numerous parts

retaliatory -- (adj.) designed to get even or to punish

modify -- (v.) to change somewhat (but not completely)

mass production -- (n.) cost-saving techniques designed to produce something in great quantities, originated by Henry Ford for manufacturing automobiles

incentive -- (n.) an encouragement, a reason to do something

boost phase -- the initial, or starting phase; the first step

bus "deployment" phase -- the stage of a missile launch in which all warheads are contained in a single heavy device for intercontinental travel

midcourse phase -- the stage of a missile launch in which all warheads have been freed from the single containing device and have been given direction to move toward their individual targets

terminal phase -- last stage of a missile launch in which the warhead reenters the atmosphere toward the ground target

GBMD I and II -- Global Ballistic Missile Defense: first and second levels of the proposed SDI system

cost effective -- (adj.) economical, money well spent

warhead -- (n.) section of a missile containing the explosive

dummy warhead -- (n.) fake explosive piece

disperse -- (v.) to break up and scatter in random fashion

pellet -- (n.) a small, round stone-like piece

detonate -- (v.) to explode with sudden force; detonation -- the explosion

reflective -- (adj.) very shiny and bright, reflecting

evasive -- (adj.) dodging, unable to be pinned down

vulnerable -- (adj.) easily attacked or damaged

ASAT -- (n.) anti-satellite weapon

irradiate -- (v.) to make radioactive

REVIEW WORDS AND TERMS

nuclear blackmail -- to extort, or gain by force, as a result of threatening to attack with a nuclear device

deterrence -- (n.) a prevention measure, something done to discourage another's action

parity -- (n.) equivalence, an equalizing arrangement

deploy -- (v.) to place into battle formation, to move into proper position

cruise missile -- (n.) a missile that flies close to the ground, beneath the level that radar can detect

kinetic energy -- (adj., n.) energy obtained from the force of movement

militarized -- (adj.) to equip with military forces or armaments

sabotage -- (n.) deliberate, and often secretive, destruction of property for the purpose of hindering or setting back some effort

offensive -- (adj.) designed for attack

defensive -- (adj.) designed for defense

VOCABULARY LESSON 5

EXERCISE A. Match up each of the words in column A with the word most closely related to it from column B. Place the part of speech next to each word: n = noun, v = verb, adj. = adjective, adv. = adverb. Be prepared to tell what each word in column B means.

COLUMN A	COLUMN B
a. militarized	1. modification
b. interceptor	2. detonation
c. boost	3. incinerator
d. terminal	4. reflection
e. modify	5. military
f. incinerate	6. booster
g. retaliatory	7. radiation
h. evasive	8. interception
i. reflective	9. terminate
j. irradiate	10. evade
k. detonate	11. minimum
l. minimal	12. retaliate

EXERCISE B. Fill in the blanks using one of the words from your vocabulary list. In some cases, a different form of the word on your list will be required to make the sentence read correctly.

1. One way to send an emergency distress signal is to use a mirror so that light __________________ off of it.

2. In some apartment buildings, trash is placed in a shute that leads down to an ____________________.

3. Someone who has a fatal disease is said to be suffering from a _________________ illness.

4. The police questioned the suspect about his whereabouts the night of the crime, but every time they asked, the man would simply ____________ the question.

5. The purpose of having a lock on your front door is to _______ a criminal.

6. One of the newest methods of food packaging preserves food by _________________ it so that it does not need refrigeration.

7.The factory assembly line is important to __________________.

8. When you don't quite understand a word you are reading, a good way to get the gist of the meaning is to look at the _______ in which the word appears.

9. Some parents encourage their children to get good grades in school by offering money as an _________________.

10. As the bus swerved off course and plowed into a busy intersection, the curious crowd of bystanders _______________ to avoid being hit.

11. The ______________ passing grade was a "C."

12. The student thought the last test the teacher had given was _______________ easy compared with some of the previous ones.

13. An open wound is ________________ to infection.

14. If apples sell for $.30 apiece, or 4 for $1.00, is it more ____________________ to buy four apples or three?

15. Some gardening stores sell fertilizer in ______________ form.

EXERCISE C. Select the best completion for the following sentences.

1. Mission Control planned a trajectory that would place the Space Shuttle

a. off course b. into orbit c. in Los Angeles d. in a silo

2. Mark gave his brother a boost so that he could

a. get over the wall b. finish his dinner c. get a double-scoop of ice cream instead of a single scoop d. sit down

3. The Olympic champion skier thought of a good way to modify the design of his skis so that

a. he wouldn't go so fast b. he could resell them c. he would go faster d. they would look more attractive

4. A cost-effective idea is one that

a. gives people the most for their money b. gives people the least for their money c. keeps people from making any money d. raises taxes

5. Which of the following ideas is relative?

a. Stealing is wrong. b. Children need a balanced meal. c. Success breeds success. d. The best students make straight A's.

6. Which of the following is NOT a deterrent to crime?

a. a jail term b. a suspended sentence c. a fine d. a criminal record

7. When your parents say that what you do is a reflection on them, they mean that

a. their opinion is more important than your opinion b. no one else has a right to punish you c. what you do is important to them d. other people judge them by the things you do

8. The term parity can refer to equivalence of all the following EXCEPT

a. weapons b. purchasing power c. property d. laws

9. All of the following depend solely upon kinetic energy for power EXCEPT

a. an automobile b. a sling shot c. a baseball d. a bow and arrow

10. John lived in a perpetual state of terror because

a. his mother occasionally spanked him when he was naughty b. his dog once bit one of the neighbor children c. he had been in a car accident d. his government was sending children to concentration camps

UNIT REVIEW

REVIEW EXERCISE A. Mark each statement true or false. Be prepared to give a reason for your choices.

__________ 1. If the President found out today that a terrorist organization had launched a nuclear missile at the United States, he could save everybody by getting them into fallout shelters before it hit.

__________ 2. Radioactive fallout results no matter where a nuclear bomb is detonated.

__________ 3. Most of the technology to build an SDI program already exists.

__________ 4. The communists believe nuclear wars can be won.

__________ 5. To deter an enemy, all you need is as many weapons as he has.

__________ 6. A limited nuclear exchange can be controlled.

__________ 7. The ABM Treaty is based on Mutual Assured Destruction.

__________ 8. So far, neither side has broken the ABM Treaty.

__________ 9. SDI would protect the United States from every kind of weapon.

__________ 10. A nuclear freeze stop nations from using any nuclear weapons.

__________ 11. With SDI, we would still be helpless if attacked with SLBMs.

__________ 12. SLBMs and cruise missiles can be used to launch an effective first strike against another nation.

__________ 13. A reentry vehicle (RV) carries one nuclear warhead.

__________ 14. Kinetic energy uses nuclear power to overtake a missile.

__________ 15. Laser beams have many peaceful uses.

__________ 16. The SDI defense plan would violate the peaceful uses of space.

__________ 17. Communications satellites currently in space are very important to our everyday lives.

__________ 18. Right now our communications satelalites are well protected.

__________ 19. The only weakness of SDI is that it can be attacked.

__________ 20. Unless a defense can be devised that is 100 percent invincible, there is no point in spending money on any defense plan.

REVIEW EXERCISE B. Draw a diagram which shows the four phases of a missile launch. Indicate which phase is which on your drawing, and include in it a reentry vehicle (RV), a "bus", and a silo.

REVIEW EXERCISE C. Complete the following sentences with the correct information.

1. A mushroom cloud is composed of

2. Radioactive fallout occurs when

3. MAD is called a "balance of terror" because

4. The Soviets would attempt a first strike with nuclear weapons only if

5. "Acceptable damage" to the Soviet leadership means

6. The ground-based defense system we have now is unacceptable because

7. Cruise missiles are difficult to find because

8. Using the term "Star Wars" to describe SDI is misleading because

9. The SDI program would also encourage the commercial development of space because

10. It is not cost-effective to send one company into space to do research because

REVIEW EXERCISE D. Fill in the blank with the correct information from the lesson.

1. Satellites in the SDI program use ____________ to find the enemy's launched missiles.

2. Around 400 satellites would be placed in _________________ orbits.

3. GBMD II may employ one of several different methods, among them _______________, ___________________, and _______________.

4. Another term for a laser beam is a _________________ weapon.

5. At least ________ percent of all missiles launched in an attack would be destroyed using GBMD I and II of the SDI defense.

6. SDI cannot be used to launch an attack on a nation because it has no ____________ weapons.

7. The ground-based, or third level, of the SDI defense system is designed to operate at _____________ range using small, ________________________ rockets to knock out any warheads that manage to get through GBMD I and II.

8. The 1972 ABM Treaty _________________ the Geneva Convention "Rules of Warfare."

9. The United States would be ______________ if the Soviets copied our SDI system.

10. It would be in the best interests of the whole world if the Soviets spent its time on __________________ instead of ____________ weapons.

11. The cost of a basic SDI system would be around ____________.

12. The cost of the MX missile program under the Carter Administration would have been ____________.

13. About __________ of the consumer goods now available to the public did not exist ____________ years ago.

14. One of the greatest consumer markets that came out of the Apollo space program is _______________.

15. The argument that SDI would turn space into a war zone is not valid because space is already __________________.

UNIT EXAM

PART A. Answer the following questions to demonstrate your understanding of the unit.

1. With SDI in place, how much chance would the communists have of getting anything through our defenses with a first strike?

2. How much radioactive fallout would be generated using the SDI approach to defense?

3. What kind of record does the Soviet Union have with regard to honoring treaties they have signed?

4. How does an SDI interceptor locate a nuclear missile?

5. What has to happen before a nuclear warhead will detonate?

6. Why would it be difficult for the Soviets to destroy SDI satellites?

7. Name three types of directed-energy weapons.

8. List three ways the Soviets might try to get around the SDI system. Would these methods work?

9. Why is the defense of space important to researchers?

10. What kind of return has the government received so far on its investment in space?

PART B. Briefly describe the three parts of the SDI system.

PART C. Multiple choice. Select the best choice to complete each of the following statements.

1. The Geneva Convention "Rules of Warfare" stated that

a. civilians must be protected whenever possible b. it was permissible to attack population centers c. no nuclear weapons could be used d. none of the above e. all of the above

2. SDI would provide an incentive for businesses and researchers to go into space because

a. they would not have to bear the whole cost of going up b. they would be protected from attack c. it would be cost-effective d. none of the above e. all of the above

3. Much of the expense for SDI could come from

a. Utah and Nevada b. defense projects that would no longer be needed c. the Carter Administration d. the Soviet Union

4. The SDI program could not be deployed for

a. 2 years b. 6-10 years c. 50 years d. until the 21st century

5. The main purpose of the SDI plan is

a. to create an alternative to MAD b. to get even with the Soviets c. to generate funds for NASA d. to prevent a first strike e. b and c of the above f. a and d of the above

6. As defense program costs go, SDI

a. compares poorly b. is much more expensive c. compares favorably d. is cheap

7. The rationale (reason) behind MAD when the 1972 ABM Treaty was signed was that

a. since no one could possibly win a nuclear war, everyone would stop building nuclear devices b. since the communists had nuclear devices everyone else should have them too c. the treaty would freeze nuclear weapons d. we didn't need superiority

8. If a nuclear missile got through GBMD defenses I and II, it would

a. detonate on the ground b. be intercepted by high-velocity rockets before it hit the ground c. kill millions of people due to radioactive fallout d. be knocked out with a laser beam

9. If a laser weapon is built into the SDI defense plan, it would be used to knock out nuclear missiles

a. during the "boost" phase b. during the "terminal" phase c. during the "post-boost" and "mid-course" phases d. in the silo e. during the "post-boost" phase only

10. The GBMD II level of defense is intended to intercept nuclear warheads

a. while they are still in the silo b. while they are still contained in the "bus" c. after the RVs begin moving toward their individual targets d. after the RVs have reentered the atmosphere.

11. The purpose of a reentry vehicle is to

a. protect a warhead from being intercepted b. protect a warhead when it comes back through the atmosphere c. put warhead on course d. act as a heat-sensing device

12. To detect a nuclear missile launched from Russia, experts in the United States would have to

a. depend on U.S. intelligence sources abroad b. use supersensitive radar c. be informed via the Hot Line in the President's office d. get information from satellites in space

13. Other than military defense, methods being pursued in hopes of lessening the Soviet threat include all of the following EXCEPT

a. nuclear freeze b. deterrence c. economic sanctions d. negotiations e. linkage f. summit talks

14. Since 1914 the Soviets have lost through wars, famines, and purges

a. nearly a million citizens b. about 650,000 citizens c. about 2 million citizens d. over 50 million citizens

15. To the communists, the term "loss" is relative because

a. their people have suffered so much loss already that they have developed a willingness to accept high casualties b. in the Soviet Union human life is not sacred c. the Soviets weigh human life against what they believe they stand to gain d. the Soviets would accept losses that no free nation would accept e. none of the above f. all of the above

KEYED ANSWER SHEETS

VOCABULARY LESSON -- Introduction

EXERCISE A. Match up each of the following words with the one most closely related to it. In every case the words are simply different forms of the word in your vocabulary list. Place next to each new form the part of speech it represents (v = verb, n = noun, adj = adjective, adv = adverb).

VOCABULARY WORD		NEW WORD FORM	
a. resignation	6	1. prevail	v
b. option	7	2. concede	v
c. aggressor	9	3. aspire	v
d. concession	2	4. obsolete	adj
e. psychological	5	5. psychology	n
f. aspiration	3	6. resigned	v
g. obsolescence	4	7. opt	v
h. confrontation	8	8. confront	v
i. disposition	10	9. aggressive	adj
j. prevalent	1	10. disposed	v

EXERCISE B. Fill in the blanks with the correct word from the vocabulary list. In some cases you may need to use a form of the original word from the matching list above.

1. In the __aftermath_____ of the Mexican earthquake, many people died from lack of medical supplies.

2. The boss told his secretary that the important letter to Mr. Ryan was a top __priority___.

3. "Treat others the way you would want to be treated" is an often-quoted religious and moral __principle__.

4. Raisins or nuts were __options____ suggested in the cookie recipe.

5. The __principal__ reason you are studying this unit is to better understand world conflict.

6. Mary had __resigned___ herself to failing the history test; consequently she was __psychologically___ defeated.

7. Her main __aspiration__ in life was to be an actress.

8. Because the newspaper printed what the President said out of context, everyone thought SDI was an offensive, instead of a defensive, weapon.

9. In order to get his sister to give up her favorite television show so that he could watch his, John made many conclusions, such as agreeing to do the dishes for a week.

10. Unfortunately, his sister didn't relinquish the television set, and the two wound up in a bitter confrontation over the matter.

11. Calling a local police station a "Gestapo" is a misnomer because it grossly exaggerates the role of our police forces.

12. The student was afraid to broach the subject of his grades with his teacher for fear that she might notice he hadn't turned in his work that day.

EXERCISE C. Complete the following sentences:

ANSWERS WILL VARY.

1. If I don't prioritize my work every day, I

2. My dad says that automobiles are examples of "planned obsolescence" because

3. I had to relinquish my turn at the computer terminal when

4. An example of a mathematical principle is

5. Those who say that the Founding Fathers believed in a Supreme Being point to the context surrounding the words

6. For my senior year in high school, I have the option of

7. Rick's aggressive behavior cost him

8. Hay fever is most prevalent in areas where

9. My disposition is terrible whenever

10. The principal problem with the policy of appeasement is

INTRODUCTION REVIEW

There will be only one review exercise for this introductory section. More numerous exercises and an exam section will be included at the end of each of the following units.

EXERCISE. Multiple choice. Select the most appropriate choice to complete each of the following statements. Read each of the choices completely before making a decision -- you will find out why!

1. "Kamikaze" raids represented a particularly difficult challenge to American troops in World War II because

a. our troops couldn't see them well enough to shoot them down
b. the Japanese had better weapons than the United States did
[✓ c.] the enemy was already prepared to lose his life d. American generals were afraid of losing too many American men

2. The major difference between a conflict between individuals and a conflict between nations is that

[✓ a.] in a conflict between nations opponents usually have had time to size each other up b. in a conflict between nations you don't know who your enemies are c. in a conflict between nations one side usually has better weapons than the other side

3. The policy of appeasement is generally not successful because

a. people need too many things in life b. whatever is given is never enough c. it is seen by an aggressor as an invitation to push for more d. it winds up being a form of blackmail e. all of the above [✓ f.] three of the above

4. All of the following are good ways to find out how another country will react EXCEPT

a. listening to what the leaders say b. studying a nation's history c. studying a nation's culture d. studying the nation's economy [✓ e.] judging the personality of the nation's highest leader

5. History shows that weapons only fall out of use when

a. they don't work anymore b. something better comes along c. when a treaty is signed banning their use d. when enough people have been killed with them [✓ e.] a and b above f. c and d above

6. The "war called peace" is

a. World War III b. the Soviet drive for world domination c. the present conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union [✓ d.] all of the above e. none of the above

7. The United States' GREATEST disadvantage in World War III is

a. that Americans are not aware war has begun b. that the Soviet Union has been taking over other nations for nearly 40 years c. that the United States has no experience in psychological warfare [✓ d.] that the United States is a peace-loving nation

8. The GREATEST advantage of the Soviet Union in World War III is

[✓ a.] that the Soviet people are used to constant warfare and hardship b. the Soviets have superior weapons c. the Soviet people believe communist propaganda d. the Soviets people cannot get the necessities they need when they want them

9. The term "nuclear blackmail" means that

a. the Soviet Union keeps trying to steal nuclear weapons from the United States b. that everyone is afraid of nuclear weapons c. both the United States and the Soviet Union can destroy each other [✓ d.] one country or outlaw organization can get what it wants just by threatening to use nuclear weapons

10. The Soviet Union's response to President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) leads one to believe that

[✓ a.] the Soviet leaders prefer a balance of terror to survival b. the President's SDI idea won't work c. the Soviet leaders are bluffing when they threaten to use nuclear weapons d. that the Soviet Union would rather steal SDI than to share it.

VOCABULARY LESSON 1

EXERCISE A. Match up each of the words in column A with the word most closely related to it from column B. Place the part of speech next to each word you write: n. = noun, v. = verb, adj. = adjective, adv. = adverb. Be prepared to explain the meanings.

COLUMN A			COLUMN B		
a.	colonial	17	1.	obscurity	n
b.	dignity	9	2.	atrocious	adj
c.	aggression	22	3.	assumption	n
d.	moral	8	4.	pacifist	n
e.	assume	3	5.	nation	n
f.	atrocity	2	6.	provocation	n
g.	pacifism	4	7.	stability	n
h.	strategy	11	8.	immorality	n
i.	subversion	13	9.	dignified	adj
j.	refuge	21	10.	confront	v
k.	unprecedented	23	11.	strategic	adj
l.	calculation	20	12.	political	adj
m.	politics	12	13.	subvert	v
n.	supremacy	22	14.	exploitation	n
o.	adversary	18	15.	immigrate	v
p.	stable	7	16.	economize	v
q.	nationalist	5	17.	colony	n
r.	confrontational	10	18.	adverse	adj
s.	immigration	15	19.	insurgency	n
t.	economic	16	20.	miscalculate	v
u.	insurrection	19	21.	refugee	n
v.	provoke	6	22.	aggressive	adj
w.	exploit	14	23.	precedent	n
x.	obscure	1	22.	supreme	adj

EXERCISE B. Fill in the blanks using one of the words from your vocabulary list. In some cases, a different form of the word on your list will be required to make the sentence read correctly.

1. The teacher said that she could not __condone__ cheating under any circumstances.

2. Adolf Hitler's generals committed many __atrocities__ against the Jewish people in German concentration camps during World War II.

3. Hitler's __regime__ ended with his defeat in World War II.

4. Someone who has a lot of money invested in a certain bank would definitely feel that he had a __stake__ in its success.

5. The Woodley High School basketball team got ready to __confront__ its toughest __adversary__.

6. Because Sue was so __hostile__ or __provoked__ every time somebody made a suggestion, no one volunteered to be on her committee. (2 choices here)

7. The builders decided that the ground was too __unstable__ to support the weight of a building.

8. Anyone who is elected President of the United States __incurs__ or __assumes__ great responsibilities. (2 choices)

9. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are generally considered to be the __fundamentals__ of education.

10. Slavery is the __exploitation__ of one's fellow man in order to obtain free labor.

11. What to do about pollution is a major __dilemma__ of our times.

12. Mark was used to __manipulating__ his mother into giving him everything he wanted.

13. The person who sells you a house is in the __real estate__ business.

14. The doctor tried to __alleviate__ the patient's fears by saying that he had cured many people having the same disease.

15. Although the two brothers didn't get along well, they decided to __coexist__ or __compromise__ until one of them could afford to get his own apartment. (2 choices here)

EXERCISE C. Select the best completion for the following sentences.

1. The puppy was insatiable because it

a. never obeyed its master [✓ b.] was hungry even after being fed c. was not housebroken d. didn't have a collar

2. The policeman tried to pacify the angry motorist by

a. giving him a ticket b. threatening him with jail c. calling for more backup police [✓ d.] talking to him calmly

3. An example of an emerging nation would be

[✓ a.] Angola b. France c. Great Britain d. Scotland e. Ohio

4. The French ambassador's party was a unparalleled success because

a. everybody had a good time b. everyone had a terrible time [✓ c.] it was the best party the French embassy had ever given d. only French-speaking people were allowed to attend

5. The teacher said that John's grades were atrocious because

a. they were all "A"s b. they were all "C"s [✓ c.] they were all "F"s d. they were not computed correctly

6. People often say jokingly that wire hangers proliferate in the closet because

a. there are never any in the closet when one needs them [✓ b.] there always seem to be more hangers in the closet than expected c. some people don't like wire hangers d. wire hangers ruin clothes

7. Anyone running for public office incurs many expenses because

a. there is no one to pay the bills b. too many people fail to vote c. voting is done by secret ballot [✓ d.] campaigning takes a lot of money

8. If I assume that a certain person is a pacifist, it is most likely because

a. he didn't vote in the last election b. he volunteered for the Navy c. he doesn't know how to fire a gun [✓ d.] he refused to have anything to do with any of the Armed Services

9. An aggressive car salesman would be one who

a. allows the customer to take his time looking around [✓ b.] tries to pressure the customer into buying the first car he looks at c. suggests other automobile lines the customer might like better d. ignores the customer so he can finish his paperwork

10. A minister or Rabbi might best be described as

a. a nationalist b. an adversary c. a rival [✓ d.] an idealist

11. If a customer takes a complaint to a department store's manager, a good manager will

[✓ a.] try to accomodate the customer b. try to intimidate the customer c. try to provoke the customer d. try to oust the customer

12. To keep a good business, a smart store manager will always assume (whether it is true or not) that

[✓ a.] the customer is always right b. the customer is insatiable c. the customer is an idiot d. the customer is vulnerable

13. When an individual is sometimes referred to as unstable, it means that he seems to be

a. brilliant b. idealistic c. a malcontent [✓ d.] mentally unbalanced

14. Investigators are trying to determine the cause of an airplane crash. Any of the following might be the reason EXCEPT

a. an inherent flaw in the materials used to build the plane b. human error c. a miscalculation on the part of the pilot d. an attempted coup by armed guerrilla warriors e. unstable weather conditions [✓ f.] taking off from an industrial city

15. If the police confront a suspect with the evidence of some crime, they are hoping that he will

a. try to compromise [✓ b.] admit to committing the crime c. exploit the officers d. flee to a sanctuary

EXERCISE C. Match the words in column A with their OPPOSITES (ANTONYMS) from column B.

a. appease	4	1.	globalist
b. idealist	7	2.	friendly
c. relentless	3	3.	merciful
d. nationalist	1	4.	provoke
e. subsequent	6	5.	partner
f. obscure	8	6.	previous
g. rival	5	7.	realist
h. hostile	2	8.	famous

UNIT REVIEW 1

REVIEW EXERCISE A. Mark each statement true or false. Be prepared to give your reason for each choice.

F 1. Afghanistan is an industrialized nation.

F 2. The Soviet Union has a long-standing policy of coexisting with neighboring countries.

T 3. The Persian Gulf is important to the United States because raw materials and other goods are transported through.

F 4. The Soviet Union has a history of compromise.

T 5. The Soviet Union has lost more of its citizens through warfare than the United States.

T 6. For the Soviet leaders to feel secure within their own borders, they believe leaders of other nations must be made insecure.

T 7. The American concept of justice is both historical and traditional.

T 8. The communists exploit the peace-loving nature of Americans.

F 9. The Soviet leaders really are afraid we will try to conquer them.

F 10. "Easy marks" for Soviet domination include parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Great Britain.

T 11. The communists prefer not to attack the United States directly.

F 12. African nations are clearly divided to reflect tribal "states."

T 13. The goal of Soviet strategy is to cut off the West's raw materials and supplies so that it cannot function.

T 14. The communists specialize in overthrowing other governments.

T 15. Most of Africa is extremely poor.

F 16. A few nations have freely chosen communism as their form of government.

F 17. Democracies have frequently fought one another.

F 18. The Soviet Union is still way behind the United States in terms of military might.

T 19. Pacifists favor a policy of appeasement.

F 20. The Soviets worry about the morality of selling weapons to small, unstable nations.

REVIEW EXERCISE B. Multiple Choice. Select the best completion for the following sentences to test your understanding of the unit.

1. Soviet strategy involves all of the following EXCEPT

a. deception b. disinformation [✓ c.] compromise d. bluffing e. intimidation

2. The strategy of strategic dominance is used by the communists to

a. disrupt or deprive the West of the things it needs b. increase their own areas of control c. to protect the people who live in various regions around the globe d. to improve trade relations [✓ e.] two of the above f. three of the above

3. African politics depends on

a. the leaders' ability to feed and clothe their people b. the leaders' ability to sell their products c. the leaders' ability to improve the economy of their nations [✓ d.] the leaders' ability to increase their power

4. The problems of Africa include all of the following EXCEPT

a. extreme poverty [✓ b.] a free-market economy c. racial and tribal warfare d. leaders who must place power before the good of their people

5. In 1980, Moscow supplied more than ______________ the weapons going to Africa.

a. half b. 10 percent [✓ c.] three-fourths d. all

6. The Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow is a

a. general-studies university b. religious college [✓ c.] terrorist-training institution d. fine arts school

7. Fanatics can be useful to the communists because

a. they don't consider the consequences of their actions b. their enthusiasm for a goal blinds their common sense c. they often create serious conflicts in a country [✓ d.] three of the above

8. Communist "wars of liberation" are intended to

a. free the people of a region from foreign rulers b. help people who were once ruled by another power to set up their own government c. liberalize laws and increase trade with the Soviet Union [✓ d.] overturn and replace an existing government with a communist government

9. The "war called peace" refers to

a. World War III b. an ongoing conflict which the communists pretend is peace c. a continual battle involving not just war weapons but psychological weapons d. a series of conflicts around the globe which are really a part of something much larger [✓ e.] all of the above f. two of the above

10. If you had to come up with a motto to describe the Soviet-communist idea of good international relations, the most appropriate one would be

a. "Good triumphs over evil." b. "Love conquers all." [✓ c.] "Might makes right." d. "Honesty pays."

EXERCISE D. Complete the following sentences with the correct information.

1. The Soviet Union exploits weaker nations by

by taking advantage of problems that already exist in the country.

2. World War III is the first truly global war because

no place is too remote AND what affects even the smallest nation affects the balance of power.

3. Since 1939, the Soviet Union has taken over

22 countries.

4. We know that Iran is targeted for communist takeover because

the Iranian Communist Party, "Tudek," is using the University of Kasbul in Afghanistan to train in takeover techniques.

5. Afghanistan has been referred to as "the turnstile of Asia" because

it has historically one of the seatrs of great power intrigue and a place where empires meet.

6. When Lenin commented that "refugees are people who vote with their feet," he meant that

those who flee are expressing their opinion of the government in power.

7. The Soviet takeover of Afghanistan is part of a pattern because

it is a repetition of previous Soviet takeovers.

8. The Soviet leaders use proxy troops to

fight wars in far-away lands.

9. One reason why the United States has to worry about immigration quotas is because

so many people want to come to the United States to live.

10. An inherently unstable nation is one which

has almost always had severe internal problems and frequent changes of government.

UNIT 1 EXAM

PART A. Answer the following questions to demonstrate your understanding of the unit.

1. In what ways is the Soviet Union opportunistic in its methods?

It takes advantage of a country's internal problems.
It generates or helps to create new problems so that the communists can come in and "restore order."
It feeds on chaos, confusion, and mistakes.

2. Why do the communists call the conflicts they support "wars of liberation"?

That term deceives those who don't know better into believing the communists want to help -- "wars of liberation" sounds better than "Soviet imperialism."

3. Why can't the United States simply disarm to prove its good intentions?

The Soviets have proved they are not trustworthy AND the U.S. has repeatedly proven its good intentions already.

4. What is the difference between the "politics of prosperity" and the "politics of power accumulation"?

The former is based on economic growth, success, and fulfillment; the latter is based on a competition for power over people and territory.

5. Why did Iran and Pakistan worry when the Soviets launched a coup into Afghanistan in 1978?

Afghanistan was right "next door."

6. What is "the war called peace"?

(See #9 on page 168.)

7. What is the goal of an appeasement policy?

The objective is to satisfy an enemy by giving him at least a portion of what he wants.

8. Why does the existence of the United States threaten the Soviet communists?

People are clamoring to get INTO our country instead of OUT. Soviet power depends upon keeping people subjugated rather than free.

9. Why are the nations of Africa and the Middle East vulnerable?

They have unstable governments, many internal problems, and are close to hostile powers.

10. What are some of the things that make a nation stable?

An established government, a sound economy, and high employment all contribute to stability.

PART B. Describe three major differences in outlook or viewpoint between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Some suggested responses are:

An "egual," by the Soviet definition, is a "rival" to be eliminated.

"Security" in the Soviet view is "domination."

To the Soviets, freedoms of the press, assembly, and religion are threatening.

PART C. List 10 countries which have been taken over by the Soviet Union since World War II.

(See page 49 for 22 countries.)

PART D. Multiple Choice. Select the best answer to complete the following statements.

1. When the United States gives aid to a foreign country, our leaders expect that that country will

a. use the aid to work toward a democratic society b. use the aid to help alleviate suffering c. use the aid to conduct military raids on neighboring villages d. use the aid to buy proxy armies e. three of the above [✓ f.] two of the above

2. When the Soviet Union gives aid to a foreign nation, its leaders hope that

a. the aid will be used for economic development b. the aid will be used to further chaos in the nation c. the foreign country will become dependent on the Soviets for future aid d. the aid will go to promote revolution e. two of the above [✓ f.] three of the above

3. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is part of

a. an oil-producing group b. the Soviet Union [✓ c.] an international terrorist group d. a real estate company

4. The communists promise all of the following to countries they want to take over EXCEPT

a. the underdogs will be "top dog" b. the rulers will be supplied with weapons [✓ c.] the people will be wealthy d. the people will be liberated from colonial rule e. order will be established

5. The "politics of power accumulation" can include all of the following EXCEPT

[✓ a.] a high employment rate b. plenty of weapons c. armies d. additional territory

6. It would be difficult for the United States to help African leaders reverse the poverty levels of their nations because

a. some African leaders are not interested in their people's welfare b. African leaders believe they can do nothing if they cannot even stay in power c. African leaders generally have no experience with or understanding of free-market principles d. most of the populations in African nations are illiterate [✓ e.] all of the above f. none of the above

7. The communists had their puppet, Prime Minister of Afghanistan Noor Mohammed Taraki, executed because

a. he was not loyal to the communist cause b. he failed to raise the Afghan standard of living c. he was a foreigner [✓ d.] he did not subdue the Afghan people fast enough

8. An idealist becomes a fanatic only when

[✓ a.] the end becomes more important than the means b. when he speaks out on difficult issues c. when he writes articles for a newspaper d. when he supports a candidate for public office

9. A Marxist regime is one that

a. supports the communists b. supports the Americans c. supports free-market principles d. is anti-Western [✓ e.] a and d of the above f. b and c of the above

10. Television is often helpful to the communists because

a. it shows too many acts of violence b. it provokes disorder in a targeted country c. spends too much time reporting the news [✓ d.] it fails to show professional organizers who are behind demonstrations and revolts

VOCABULARY LESSON 2

EXERCISE A. Match each of the words in column A with the word most closely related to it from column B. Place the abbreviation for the part of speech next to each word you write: n. = noun, v. = verb, adj. = adjective, adv. = adverb. Be prepared to explain any differences in meaning.

a.	monarchy	5	1.	commune	v
b.	authoritarian	8	2.	mandate	v
c.	serfdom	15	3.	despot	n
d.	ideology	6	4.	capital	n or adj
e.	imperialism	12	5.	monarch	n
f.	autocratic	10	6.	ideal	n or adj
g.	rationale	9	7.	manipulate	v
h.	dissident	13	8.	authority	n
i.	mandatory	2	9.	rationalize	v
j.	isolationist	11	10.	autocrat	n
k.	despotism	3	11.	isolate	v
l.	communism	1	12.	imperialist	n
m.	capitalism	4	13.	dissent	v
n.	manipulation	7	14.	bureacucrat	n
o.	bureaucracy	14	15.	serf	n

EXERCISE B. Explain the similarities and differences between each of the following word pairs.

ANSWERS WILL VARY. DISCUSS IN CLASS.

1. authoritarian, totalitarian
2. autocratic, despotic
3. ideal, ideology
4. Marxism, communism
5. subversion, manipulation
6. colony, satellite

EXERCISE C. Fill in the blank by selecting the best word from your vocabulary list. In some cases, a different form of the word may be necessary from the one that appears on your list.

1. It is mandatory that everyone under the age of 16 attend school.

2. The student's poor oral report brought a disdainful or baleful glare from the teacher.

3. The rationale behind compulsory school attendance is that all citizens in a free society need a basic education for self-government to work.

4. The Oakwood High football team will take on its most formidable opponent next Saturday.

5. The witness repudiated everything she had told the police once she got to court.

6. An impoverished population is going to worry about where the next meal is coming from before they think about who they will vote for.

7. A fanatic tends not to consider the ramifications of his actions.

8. Magicians are masters of illusion.

9. Back in the Middle Ages, the lowest class of feudal society was the serf, who was bound to carry out the wishes of the lord.

10. Queen Elizabeth of England is the ruling monarch of Great Britain.

11. The metamorphosis of a caterpillar into a butterfly is one of the most amazing occurrences in nature.

12. The Department of Education is part of our government bureaucracy.

13. According to communist ideology, socialism must eventually replace capitalism.

14. France, England, and the United States are all part of NATO.

UNIT 2 REVIEW

REVIEW EXERCISE A. Select the best answer from the choices listed to complete the following sentences.

1. We study history because

a. it is good practice to memorize dates and places b. it shows how the nations of the world got to be the way they are c. it helps us to defeat communism d. it shows how past events continue to influence us today e. a and d above [✓ f.] b and d above

2. The Mongols ruled the Russians in all of the following ways EXCEPT

a. terror b. manipulation c. heavy taxation [✓ d.] using the Magna Carta e. despotism

3. The Mongols ruled Russia for

a. about 20 years b. about seven generations c. a century [✓ d.] almost 250 years

4. The American Bill of Rights has its origins

[✓ a.] in England's Magna Carta b. in the U.S. Constitution c. in the Cheka d. in the KGB

5. Mongol rule in Russia ended with

a. Ivan the Terrible b. Lenin c. Stalin [✓ d.] Ivan the Great e. Peter the Great

6. The Russian Tsar known as "the great Westernizer" was

a. Ivan the Terrible b. Lenin c. Stalin d. Ivan the Great [✓ e.] Peter the Great

7. The first Russian Tsar was

[✓ a.] Ivan the Terrible b. Lenin c. Stalin d. Ivan the Great e. Peter the Great

8. Long military service for Russian men started as a way of

a. keeping Russia impoverished [✓ b.] keeping the Mongols away from Russian borders c. obtaining slaves for the Russian leaders d. increasing terrorism

9. The Russian Cossack warriors expanded Russian borders all the way to

a. Asia b. the Atlantic Ocean [✓ c.] the Pacific Ocean d. Canada e. the Mediterranean

10. Peter the Great wanted to Westernize his country because

a. he thought his people needed to be exposed to Western ideas and culture b. because he felt that Russia was backward [✓ c.] because he wanted modern techniques and weaponry d. because he wanted to make friends with the Western world

11. The Tsars who have "the Great" added to their names earned that title for

a. improving the Russian standard of living b. for the great cultural advances they made c. for their personal brilliance [✓ d.] for their military conquests

12. The present-day U.S.S.R is really

a. the 16th century Russian borders b. fourteen separate nations that were conquered by Russia c. the product of seven centuries of conquest d. composed of people who voluntarily joined with Russia in the 17th century e. one of the above [✓ f.] two of the above

13. Who instituted the internal passport system?

a. Ivan the Great b. Ivan the Terrible c. Lenin d. Stalin [✓ e.] Peter the Great

14. The internal passport system means that

a. no one can leave Russia without a passport [✓ b.] no one can leave a Russian-controlled territories without permission c. no one can buy or sell goods without permission d. no one can change jobs without permission

15. Who organized the first Russian secret police?

[✓ a.] Ivan the Terrible b. Peter the Great c. Stalin d. Lenin

16. Under whose reign were Russian policies relaxed?

a. Peter the Great b. Ivan the Great c. Catherine the Great [✓ d.] Tsar Alexander II e. none of the above

17. The Russian leader named above liberalized policies in all of the following areas EXCEPT

a. land ownership b. slavery c. censorship [✓ d.] elections e. military service f. trials

18. Who assassinated Tsar Alexander II?

a. Peter the Great b. Lenin [✓ c.] The People's Will d. Alexander Ulyanov

19. Who plotted the assassination Tsar Alexander II's successor?

a. Catherine the Great b. Lenin c. Lenin's brother d. a group of dissidents d. Joseph Stalin [✓ e.] two of the above f. three of the above

20. Lenin's group of revolutionaries were called

a. the KGB b. the Cheka c. The People's Will [✓ d.] Bolsheviks

REVIEW EXERCISE B. Mark the following statements true or false. Prepare to give the correct answers to all the statements you mark "false."

F 1. Lenin's real name was Alexander Ulyanov.

F 2. The Russian famine during Lenin's time was due mainly to crop failures.

F 3. The first rulers of Moscow were called Tsars.

T 4. Russia once had territory in the United States close to what is now San Francisco.

T 5. The Caucusus is the entranceway to the Middle East.

F 6. Catherine the Great said: "For a few score years we shall need Europe, then we can turn our back on her."

T 7. Mongolia was the first Soviet satellite.

F 8. Russia was defeated by Napolean's armies.

T 9. Vladimir Ulyanov's family was disgraced because his brother helped to plot the assassination of the Tsar.

T 10. The Kremlin is located in Moscow.

T 11. Karl Marx and Frederic Engels wrote The Communist Manifesto

T 12. Stalin executed more than half the senior officers of the Russian Army.

F 13. According the Karl Marx's writings, socialism and "normalized" relations among countries should co-exist.

F 14. The United States was "innocent" following World War II because it did not suffer as many casualties in the war.

T 15. Chromium is used in the building of airplane engines.

F 16. The communists want South Africa to solve its racial problems.

F 17. The Cape of Good Hope is located around the southern tip of South America.

F 18. Tribal wars in Africa have no effect on the United States.

F 19. The Soviets "dumped" Eritrea and warmed to Ethiopia because there was a famine in Eritrea.

T 20. The goal of Soviet conquest in Africa is to cut off resources from the West.

DISCUSSION ACTIVITY: Write an essay, then discuss, the following statement: The Soviet system is spread by conquest; the United States system is spread by example.

ANSWERS WILL VARY.

UNIT 2 EXAM

PART A. Answer the following questions to demonstrate your understanding of the unit.

1. Why is Turkey considered a "time bomb"?

   It shares a border with three other troubled nations, has staggering economic problems, is torn by religious strife and radical political groups, and has a weak and unstable government.

2. Why was the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie good news for the Soviets?

   Emperor Selassie had been one of the United States' closest friends in black Africa AND it was an opportunity to fuel a conflict.

3. What did the Soviet Union gain from taking over Afghanistan?

   It put them closer to the Straits of Hormuz.

4. Why does Ethiopia need Soviet weapons and Cuban troops?

   Its people are so ravaged they cannot fight and Ethiopian leaders keep exhausting their supplies of weapons in warfare.

5. Of what importance are the Straits of Hormuz?

   The Straits lead into the Persian Gulf and the vast oil shipping lanes there.

6. What has been considered one of the most costly failures in history?

   The failure to stop Lenin from assuming power in Russia is considered most costly.

7. Name three advantages the Soviets gained from World Wars I and II.

   1. European-made world order was destroyed so that the communists were able to come to power in Russia and China.

   2. The five great containing powers that had kept Russia penned in were destroyed.

8. How did Lenin's regime "artificially create" a famine?

   Grain was sent to the West in payment for industrial materials, even the grain in towns where people were starving.

9. Briefly explain the difference between the theory of communism and the actual practice of communism.

In theory, communism would allow everybody to share equally the wealth and goods of a nation. In practice, a ruling Communist Party controls and owns the country's wealth and goods, and the everyday citizen is left with virtually nothing.

10. What was the attitude of the United States toward the affairs and conflicts of the world before World War II.

The attitude was contemptuous and/or uninterested.

PART B. Select the best choice to complete the following statements.

1. Communist Russia has

a. a monarchy b. an autocratic government c. a totalitarian regime d. a despotic government e. all of the above [✓ f.] three of the above

2. The Soviets turned away from Eritrea and became interested instead in Ethiopia for all of the following reasons EXCEPT

[✓ a.] the communists had nothing to lose by doing so b. Ethiopia was more valuable c. Ethiopia had more people d. Ethiopia has a strategic port

3. Vladimir Ulyanov became disillusioned with the liberalized policies because

a. he had studied under Karl Marx [✓ b.] he blamed the policies for his brother's execution and his family's disgrace c. he thought the people's human rights were being violated d. he wanted to be Tsar

4. According to Marxism, all of the following apply EXCEPT

a. the "capitalist" world must be liberated b. socialism must move forward c. normal relations with other nations is impossible d. revolution is necessary to achieve a socialist world [✓ e.] rulers must be made responsible to the people

5. The United States has tended in the past to view itself as "secure" for all of the following reasons EXCEPT

a. the U.S. has a democratic system of government b. the U.S. is bordered by mostly friendly neighbors c. the U.S. is an "island nation" d. the U.S. is not interested in conquest [✓ e.] the U.S. has economic interests around the world

6. After World War II, the United States needed to learn

a. how to be a world power b. how to compete with foreign markets c. how to get the raw materials it needed d. how to protect its interests around the globe e. a and d above f. b and c above

7. Most of the world's high-grade chromium is found in

a. Africa b. Asia c. South America d. the United States e. Western Europe

8. Chromium is used to produce all the following EXCEPT

a. high-grade oil b. stainless steel c. airplane engines d. trim on automobiles

9. Other important basic materials which the United States and its allies import include all of the following EXCEPT

a. copper b. petroleum c. gold d. diamonds e. wheat f. platinum

10. Stalin had millions of fomer World War II prisoners of war sent to labor camps upon their return to the Soviet Union because

a. he didn't want the people to see the awful condition they were in b. they had deserted the Russian Army during the war c. they had seen the West d. they were all plotting against Stalin

EXTRA CREDIT: Name one important achievement of Tolstoy.

ANSWERS WILL VARY.

Suggested response: War and Peace

VOCABULARY LESSON 3

EXERCISE A. Match each of the words in column A with the word most closely related to it in column B. Place the abbreviation for the part of speech next to each word in column B (n. = noun, v. = verb, adj. = adjective, adv. = adverb. Be prepared to explain any differences in meaning.

a.	indignation	17	1.	infiltration	n
b.	pre-empt	8	2.	elitist	n
c.	retaliate	11	3.	capital	n
d.	allegation	13	4.	agitation	n
e.	divert	9	5.	propagandize	v
f.	infiltrate	1	6.	trivia	n
g.	litigation	16	7.	merge	v
h.	defection	14	8.	pre-emptive	adj
i.	lobby	12	9.	diversion	v
j.	commodity	15	10.	charisma	n
k.	elite	2	11.	retaliation	n
l.	trivialize	6	12.	lobbyist	n
m.	perceptiveness	19	13.	allege	v
n.	differentiate	20	14.	defect	n
o.	merger	7	15.	accomodation	n
p.	dissemination	18	16.	litigate	v
q.	propaganda	5	17.	indignant	adj
r.	capitalism	3	18.	disseminate	v
s.	charismatic	10	19.	perceive	v
t.	agitator	4	20.	different	adj

EXERCISE B. Fill in the blank by selecting the best word from your vocabulary list. In some cases a different form of the word may be required from the one on your list.

1. I was _indignant__ because Mary copied off of my test paper and got a higher grade than I did.

2. The New England Patriots may have beaten the Miami Dolphins in the 1985 NFL football playoffs, but the Dolphins let everyone know they were coming back in 1986 with plans to retaliate.

3. Mr. Evans had always assigned his classes a lot of homework, but when he asked them to write a 20-page composition in one night, his students balked.

4. A machine gun is a conventional weapon.

5. The most tangible piece of evidence in the murder case was the weapon, which was found in the bushes close to the scene of the crime; otherwise there was not much to go on.

6. The football game was prolonged by half an hour when injuries on the field required five "time outs."

7. Some students alleged that Jim had cheated on the test, but the truth was that they were just jealous of his good score.

8. The owner of Fritzie's Hair Salon disseminated leaflets all over town to advertise free haircuts at the new store.

9. The conservation group went to Washington, D.C., to lobby for more money to preserve our nation's forests.

10. Most people consider the public school to be an established institution in the United States.

11. Margaret diverted the attention of the class when she held up a small kitten that she had been holding in her lap.

12. In the Soviet Union people wait in long lines simply to obtain everyday commodities like toilet tissue.

13. The newspaper editor told the reporter that he wanted to see some interesting copy on the summit conference by noon.

14. Considerable hype on the radio and in the newspapers usually precedes any Michael Jackson concert.

15. Even though Janice made a "D" on the first algebra test, she was undaunted and expected to get a "B" the next time.

EXERCISE C. Select the best completion for the following sentences.

1. Both candidates disseminated propaganda about each other before the election in order to

[✓ a.] make themselves look better b. make the other fellow look better c. get more people to register to vote d. clearly explain the issues of the campaign

2. Individuals who defect from the Soviet Union often request asylum in the United States for all the following reasons EXCEPT

a. because they want protection b. because they have information that would be damaging to the Soviets c. because they want to share information about the Soviets with the U.S. government [✓ d.] because they are poor e. because they think they would like life in the United States

3. The United States Constitution is predicated on all of the following EXCEPT

a. the Magna Carta b. certain inalienable rights c. equality before the law [✓ d.] a military power structure e. life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness

4. A newspaper that reported on income tax reform from a liberal perspective would probably emphasize

[✓ a.] the need to raise taxes to provide for the poor b. the need to reduce taxes so that more people would be inclined to open up businesses c. the need to leave everything the way it is so that life doesn't become any more complicated d. the need to reduce the minimum wage law so that employers can afford to hire more people

5. What might an emigre from Italy most likely be doing in Greece?

[✓ a.] reporting to Italian officials on something happening in Greece b. having an exciting vacation c. defecting d. organizing a lobby

6. From your knowledge of history, which of the following individuals would most likely be involved in planning tactical maneuvers?

a. Albert Schweitzer b. Helen Keller [✓ c.] General George S. Patton d. Thomas Jefferson

7. If your history textbook is rewritten with subtle changes, it means

a. nothing has really been changed b. the book is shorter than it was before [✓ c.] the changes are there but hard to locate d. the changes are obvious

8. An established church is one that

[✓ a.] has been around a long time b. one that came into existence last year c. one that everybody believes in d. one that has millions of dollars

9. A charismatic leader would be all of the following EXCEPT

a. wealthy b. popular c. good with words d. enthusiastic
e. brilliant f. two of the above [✓ g.] three of the above

10. To differentiate between a liberal writer and a conservative writer, a reader would have to be

a. undaunted b. imperialistic c. an idealist [✓ d.] perceptive
e. a dissident

UNIT 3 REVIEW

REVIEW EXERCISE A. Discuss each of the following questions in your class. Jot down some ideas on the subject first.

ANSWERS WILL VARY

1. Why can't a president simply declare war on a power that keeps threatening other countries?

2. What is the difference between the American Revolutionary War in 1776 and the "revolutionary wars" inspired by the communists.

3. What is meant by "the balance of terror"?

4. How can our own ideals be turned against us by the communists?

5. What does it mean to say that "the pen is mightier than the sword"?

6. Who are Lenin's "useful idiots"? How do the communists use them to further their own cause?

7. What are some of the methods used by the communists to undermine an established government?

8. Why does today's instant communication capability often make it more difficult, rather than easier, for people to get the truth about an issue? How do the communists take advantage of this fact? In what way is news a commodity?

9. What basic insights do Ion Pacepa's experiences shed on the communist viewpoint? Do you think it was a difficult decision for Pacepa to defect?

10. What are "front organizations" and how have some of them hurt the United States even though they are no longer a direct threat?

REVIEW EXERCISE B. Select the best choice to complete the following statements.

1. Military logistics include all the following EXCEPT

a. transportation of troops [✓ b.] subversion c. keeping military equipment in good repair d. ordering spare parts

2. The United States has only pre-empted the communists one time in recent history. That was in

a. Turkey b. South Africa c. Vietnam [✓ d.] Grenada e. Singapore

3. The communists have learned that the best places to conduct "wars of liberation" are in countries which

[✓ a.] have unstable governments b. have military governments c. have a monarchy d. have a democracy

4. The first place the communists successfully used a guerrilla, or revolutionary, war was in

a. the Middle East b. Grenada c. Vietnam d. Rumania [✓ e.] none of the above

5. Before the takeover by the communists, Vietnam had been under the influence of the

[✓ a.] French b. Americans c. Italians d. Chinese e. Japanese

6. The communist-inspired "war of liberation" in Vietnam was portrayed by the communists as

a. an open conflict between North and South Vietnam b. the forces of capitalism against the forces of communism [✓ c.] freeing the Vietnamese from French colonial rule d. a war by proxies

7. The United States learned all of the following from the Vietnam War EXCEPT

a. that democracies fight best when they are outraged and the conflict is short b. that the U.S. cannot provide all the troops to fight another country's war c. that aid in the form of arms and advice is the best help the U.S. can give other nations under communist threat d. that the people of the United states must see constant evidence of progress if they are to support an armed conflict [✓ e.] that it is useless to try to help any country that is in trouble

8. The terrorist approach to warfare benefits the perpetrators for which of the following reasons?

a. they can keep their identities secret b. they can strike anywhere in the world c. they do not have to declare war d. the terrorists themselves generally cannot be prosecuted e. there are few risks involved f. all of the above g. a and d of the above

9. Hollywood entertainers are sometimes targets for recruitment by the communists for all of the following reasons EXCEPT

a. they are trend-setters [✓ b.] they understand politics better than most people c. they are well trained at captivating audiences d. people tend to look up to them

10. Lenin's term "useful idiots" apply to those who are

a. comfortable with their own values b. not very intelligent c. criminals in their own country d. easily manipulated

11. Members of just about any group can become "useful idiots" as long as they

a. don't really understand the issues they are battling b. are more interested in the "end" than the "means" c. are blind to the professional organizers behind the scenes d. all of the above e. a and b of the above

12. In a democracy the police forces are targeted for subversion by the communists so that

a. the people will eventually lose faith in their police to protect them b. the people will eventually have no one to protect their rights and property c. they can turn the police force over to the military d. criminals will remain longer on the streets to generate fear and suspicion e. all of the above f. all of the above except c

13. It was important to the communists that J. Edgar Hoover be discredited for all of the following rreasons EXCEPT

a. he did not really understand communist beliefs b. he well understood communist strategy c. he was looked up to by the American public d. he had worked to uncover and prosecute communists operating in the United States

14. Nicolae Ceausescu was the communist president of

a. the Soviet Union b. Czechoslavakia c. Rumania d. the DIE

15. According to Ion Mihai Pacepa, Ceausescu planned to extend communism to other European nations by

a. appealing to the interests of the European people b. by setting up elections c. by gaining good will, and political support from leaders in capitalist nations d. by military aggression

REVIEW EXERCISE C. Label each of the following statements either true or false. Be prepared to give reasons for each of the statements you mark "false."

__T__ 1. A "war of liberation" is low-risk for the Soviets because they don't have to commit their own troops to the battle.

__F__ 2. Good military strategy is the key to winning a guerrilla war.

T 3. Local guerrilla forces in a country are also referred to as "revolutionaries."

T 4. An agitator is a professional troublemaker.

F 5. The communist forces in Vietnam stayed out of the demilitarized zone between North and South Vietnam.

F 6. The United States finally declared war on the communists in Vietnam.

T 7. The American presence in Vietnam allowed other Southeast Asian nations to learn to run their own affairs.

F 8. Democracies do well in fighting prolonged wars.

F 9. The "human rights" policy of the Carter Administration was the first effort to combat the use of terror and torture.

T 10. To conduct a successful war of propaganda requires a nation of people who trust their established institutions.

F 11. The object of undermining the established institutions is to show people that they would be better off under communism.

F 12. The communists always believe the liberal view on any issue of concern to the United States .

F 13. The communists care about the plight of oppressed racial groups around the globe.

F 14. Psychological motivations are based on what actually is happening in the world at any given time.

F 15. In the American justice system, a person facing a criminal charge bears the burden of proving himself (or herself) innocent.

T 16. According to Lenin, even an unreliable ally is better than no ally at all.

F 17. Taking control of a country through economic force is easier than doing so by military force.

F 18. The American press today is dominated chiefly by the beliefs of whatever political party is in power at the time.

F 19. President Richard Nixon was the first to commit U.S. arms or troops to Vietnam.

F 20. President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) involves mainly unknown technology.

REVIEW EXERCISE D. Complete the following sentences with the correct information.

1. "Horizon" was the name given to

Causescu's plan to extend Euro-comunism and strengthen his rule in Rumania.

2. The only people who could get in to see the "Horizon" files were

the minister of interior, the political chief or DIE and Ion Pacepa.

3. Rumanian intelligence officers obtained votes they needed from West Germany's Social Democratic party by

bribing two deputies with valuable gifts.

4. More than 10,000 Rumanians were recruited as agents and sent to the West to

influence governments of the U.S. and its allies, especially West Germany and Israel.

5. According to Pacepa, street demonstrations in Washington were led by

the American-Rumanian National Committee for Human Rights, operated by the DIE.

6. Pacepa says that communist undercover officers and agents were sent abroad to take control of various organizations using "covers" such as

folk-art instructor and priest.

7. According to Pacepa, Monica Lovinescu was to be beaten instead of killed so that

she would be an example to others who speak out against the communist dictatorship.

8. Lenin wrote that to conquer a more powerful country one should take advantage of

the smallest split between enemies and any contradiction of interests.

9. The press is a prime target for subversion by the communists because one can use the power of the press to

mold public opinion.

10. The "domino theory" is

the theory that the fall of one nation in an area (such as Southeast Asia) would mean the fall, one after anotherm of every nation in that area.

UNIT 3 EXAM

PART A. Answer the following questions to demonstrate your understanding of the unit.

1. Explain two methods used by the communists to "crush the enemy's will to resist."

terrorism -- "hit and run" tactics, designed to make certain people afraid for their lives and property

propaganda -- disinformation (lies) to promote an idea or government

2. Explain how President Ronald Reagan out-maneuvered a hostile press.

He used his own early media training to "beat them at their own game."

3. Explain how President Ronald Reagan frustrated Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev's effort to discredit the President's Strategic Defense Initiative?

He offered to share the SDI technology with the Soviets.

4. Why did Eldridge Cleaver change his mind about the communists?

He travelled extensively in communist-controlled countries.

5. Why was the Communist Party purged following Ion Pacepa's defection to the West?

They didn't want to chance any more defections. (Implied)

6. List four ways in which news can be misrepresented to the American public.

Opinions can be made to read like facts.
Camera angles can favor certain people or actions.
Unwanted perspectives can be edited out.
Words can be used to evoke certain emotions.

7. When the communists wish to take over a country by subversion, what four groups are frequent targets of their effort?

police clergy entertainers students press

8. What makes it so difficult to respond to terrorism?

It is difficult to punish the terrorists and it is difficult to get other nations to cooperate on sanctions.

9. List four types of warfare used by the communists in Vietnam.

war of liberation	guerrilla war
war by proxy	terrorism

10. What lessons did the Vietnam war teach American strategists?

Democracies are not well-equipped to fight prolonged wars because public opinion will not support them.

We cannot fight a war for another country but the best aid we can give is arms and advisors.

PART B. Select the answer which best completes each of the following statements.

1. Eldridge Cleaver was the leader of

a. the House on Un-American Activities b. Rumanian intelligence [✓ c.] the Black Panthers d. the communist forces in Vietnam

2. Nuclear blackmail changed the way wars are fought because

a. no none wants to start a full-scale war b. most powers want to restrict warfare to one place at a time c. "Star Wars" will destroy the planet d. no one wants to be caught off guard [✓ e.] a and b above f. c and d above

3. President Reagan ordered the U.S. Marines to invade Grenada because

[✓ a.] a communist missile base was being set up there b. he wanted to conquer Grenada c. he wanted to retaliate for recent suicide-terrorist attacks against our forces there d. he wanted to avoid direct confrontation

4. Guerrilla warfare is characterized by which of the following?

[✓ a.] "hit-and-run" attacks b. harassment and sabotage c. local revolutionaries d. atomic weapons e. conventional weapons f. all of the above except one g. three of the above

5. Which of the following countries have been able to resist communism?

a. Vietnam [✓ b.] Indonesia c. Turkey d. North Korea

6. Which of the following methods have been used successfully against terrorism?

a. economic sanctions b. international "human rights" laws c. the Stretegic Defense Initiative d. direct retaliation [✓ e.] none opf the above

7. Communist agents may include any of the following EXCEPT

a. a nation's natural leaders b. emigres c. malcontents d. fanatics

8. Professional agitators might involve themselves in any of the following activities EXCEPT

a. leading protest marches b. demonstrations against the government c. heading up student organizations [✓ d.] running for elected office

9. Screaming, angry mobs are helpful to the communist movement because

a. their causes are just b. angry mobs encourage constructive change [✓ c.] angry mobs generate confusion and arouse hostility d. angry mobs help the established order stay in power

10. What happened to the House on Un-American Activities?

a. it continues today to identify subversive organizations in the United States b. it was merged into another government agency [✓ c.] it was dismantled d. it changed leaders

VOCABULARY LESSON 4

EXERCISE A. Fill in the blank with the most appropriate word from your vocabulary list.

1. Those in America who say "better Red than dead" mean that they would rather capitulate than to be killed.

2. Those who would have the United States get rid of its weapons whether the Soviets do or not are advocating a policy of unilateral disarmament.

3. When the U. S. Marines went into Grenada in 1983, they found vast military arsenals in warehouses there.

4. The premise behind the doctrine of self-restraint was that since both the United States and the Soviet Union had more than enough weapons to blow each other up, it was unncessary to keep building.

5. A person who believes the world is doomed regardless of what people try to do about it is a fatalist.

6. An ideologue is often found speaking out on political topics.

7. Because the inexperienced farmer kept planting crops in the same spot every year, the soil began to erode.

8. Tommy and Larry had been arguing for so long that finally the teacher had to intervene.

9. French diplomats work at the embassy in Washington, D.C.

10. It is the offensive team in football that is supposed to make the touchdowns.

11. Honesty is a virtue.

12. At 18 years old, Margaret thought that it was degrading to have to get permission from her parents to spend the night with a girl friend.

13. Both the Jews and the Moslems claim to own Palestine in Isreal, therefore they are involved in a territorial dispute.

14. In order for a new law to be passed, it must be ratified by Congress.

15. Paul's mother asked to see the composition he wrote so that she could verify that he had done his homework.

16. If two courts of law have each found a man guilty of theft, they can give the criminal concurrent sentences.

17. Understanding the causes of earthquakes would require scientists to collect vast amounts of geological data.

18. The term "sanitation engineer" is sometimes used instead of "janitor" because the connotation of the first term is more professional.

19. If doctors want to contain a rapidly spreading cancer, they often resort to radiation treatments.

20. To deploy a satellite into space one must send it up using a launcher.

EXERCISE B. Complete the following statements to demonstrate your understanding of the vocabulary section.

ANSWERS WILL VARY.

1. An effective deterrent to smoking would be

2. If someone calls you a "penny pincher," the connotation is that you

3. If the government has a bad monetary policy, chances are that the economy will

4. Examining the gross national product is one way to jedge whether the economy is

5. An unverifiable treaty is one which

UNIT 4 REVIEW

REVIEW EXERCISE A. Mark each of the following statements "true" or "false." Be prepared to give reasons for each statement you mark "false."

F 1. The only object of the so-called "arms race" is to see which power can build the most destructive weapons the fastest.

T 2. A "balance of terror" does not bother the Soviet leadership because it is used to conducting its affairs on that basis.

T 3. The doctrine of self-restraint was intended to end the arms race.

F 4. Unilateral disarmament on the part of the United States would be a good strategy to achieve peace.

F 5. Nuclear superiority in the hands of the Soviets is no different than nuclear superiority in the hands of the United States.

T 6. The communists would probably not attempt a first strike unless they thought they could knock out the United States' capability to respond.

T 7. The United States views nuclear war as containable.

F 8. Five hundred Soviet agitators and terrorists and 5000 Cuban proxy troops all aimed at conquering a small country in the Middle East is equivalent to the United States having 450 nuclear bombs to protect that same country.

T 9. Even if nuclear war did occur, the Soviet leaders believe that society will continue to grow and develop, only slower.

F 10. An example of a strategic weapon would be a hand grenade.

F 11. It is easier to launch an attack from the sea than it is to fight with the land at one's back.

T 12. The Peace Corps was started during the Kennedy Administration

F 13. Foreign aid is one method of solving unemployment in undeveloped nations.

T 14. Emerging nations need a chance to make their own mistakes.

T 15. Military aid from the United States to nations in trouble since the Vietnam War has been limited mainly to weapons, materials, and training.

REVIEW EXERCISE B. Select the best completion for the following statements.

1. The Nixon Doctrine states that

a. the United States would supply troops but no weapons to countries threatened by communism [✓ b.] the United States would supply weapons and assistance but no troops to countries threatened by communism c. the United States would no longer be able to help countries threatened by communism d. the United States would declare war on the Soviet Union if they threatened any more countries

2. The Soviet SS-25 missile is

a. legal under current agreements b. a defensive weapon [✓ c.] prohibited under SALT II d. unverifiable

3. The new Soviet tracking radar at Krasnoyarsk in Siberia represents

[✓ a.] a violation of the ABM treaty b. a violation of the Helsinki Final Act c. a new illegal offensive weapon d. a new type of Soviet launcher

4. American negotiators today are trying to accomplish all of the following goals in negotiations with the Soviets EXCEPT

[✓ a.] assurances that the Soviets will never again threaten another country b. to limit communism to where it currently exists c. to make it advantageous for the Soviets to cooperate with us d. to convince the Soviets that the nations of the world should be capitalistic e. short-term goals

5. The Nixon-Kissinger plan called "linkage" meant that

a. the United States would work with the Soviets to achieve one of their goals provided that they worked with the United States to achieve one of our goals b. the United States might be willing to help the Soviets obtain some of their peaceful goals c. the United States intended to attack the Soviets every time they went into territory that didn't belong to them d. all of the above [✓ e.] two of the above.

6. The detente strategy of dealing with the Soviets emphasizes

a. strength over weakness b. conventional weapons over strategic weapons c. social spending over military spending [✓ d.] cooperation over competition

7. The second part of the detente strategy is

a. a nuclear freeze b. containment of communism c. exchanges of science and technology d. economic sanctions

8. The Soviet monetary currency is

a. worth about as much as the American dollar b. nearly worthless c. worth more than the French "franc" d. is slowly increasing in value

9. Even though the linkage-detente policies of the Nixon Administration did yield some gains, some people were disenchanted because

a. the gains were too slow b. the communists coantinued their "wars of liberation" c. they wanted somebody to come up with a brainstorm to solve the problem of U.S.-Soviet relations d. they didn't understand the linkage-detente strategies e. none of the above f. all of the above

10. In reviewing the President's December 1985 "Report on Soviet Noncompliance" it is clear that

a. the Soviets have tried to keep their end of arms control agreements b. the United States has achieved "parity" with the Soviet Union c. the Soviets have violated most of the agreements d. the Soviets have not only violated most of the agreements but expanded their illegal programs

REVIEW EXERCISE C. Discuss the following topics in your class.

1. What are the problems with verifying a nuclear freeze.

2. What kind of defense do we have against biological warfare?

3. How will a nuclear freeze stop the use of nuclear weapons that already exist?

4. What can the United States hope to achieve by trading superiority for parity.

5. What are some of the violations of existing treaties and agreements and how do they affect the balance of power?

UNIT 4 EXAM

PART A. Complete the following statements or answer the questions, as indicated, to demonstrate your understanding of the unit.

1. "Arms race" is a misleading term because it suggests that

it is a contest between two contenders with the same goal.

2. Whatever upsets the balance of power is dangerous because

erodes the deterrent factor.

3. The "aggressor's edge" means that

it is the advantage of an aggressive power to choose the arena of combat.

4. When American leaders complain that they spend all their time "stamping out fires," they mean that

they continuously have to respond to conflicts all around the globe.

5. Since we both can kill each other many times over, what difference does it make who has nuclear "superiority"?

In the hands of the U.S. it is the margin of safety that ensures the Soviets will not risk a nuclear exchange.

6. Why can we not appeal to the Soviets' sense of morality and justice when we call for an end to nuclear weaponry?

The Soviets are not concerned about human suffering.

7. What were the premises behind the Peace Corps?

It would help to relieve the poverty in vulnerable nations.

Unrest and revolution would not be so frequent if the people could improve their lot.

8. When we say that foreign aid has "no strings attached" it means that

offically, the U.S. expects nothing in return.

9. When former President Richard Nixon says that "it makes no sense to use a sledgehammer to kill a fly," he means that

using the wrong response in a conflict is not effective -- for example, a nuclear bomb will not solve a local revolution.

10. What is the difference between "arms limitations" and "arms agreements"?

Arms limitations imply a specific limitation on use. An agreement can mean anything short of that.

11. EXTRA CREDIT. Name one country which did use arms provided by the United States to attack other nations.

Japan

PART B. Select the best choice to complete the following sentences.

1. The December 1985 "Report on Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements" states that the Soviets have violated arms control agreements

a. in the last four years [✓ b. over a 25-year period] c. only in the area of SALT II d. mainly during the Nixon Administration

2. Soviet military expenditures in the 1970's were

a. about the same as our own b. less than that of the United States c. a little more than that of the United States [✓ d. more than double that of the United States]

3. The McNamara Doctrine of 1965 was based upon

a. linkage b. detente c. competition [✓ d. self-restraint]

4. By 1979, the Soviets had

a. more nuclear weapons than the United States b. more conventional weapons than the United States c. more ready troops than the United States [✓ d. all of the above]

5. A condition known as parity was established with

[✓ a. the SALT I treaty and the Jackson Amendment] b. the SALT II treaty c. the Threshold Test Ban Treaty d. the Geneva Accords

6. Parity means that

a. the United States and the Soviet Union would be equal militarily, weapon for weapon b. all the NATO nations would have equivalent forces [✓ c. the Soviets would have no advantages that are not offset by U.S. advantages] d. neither side could depoly strategic weapons without the consent of the other

7. If the Soviets should acquire more territorial anti-ballistic missile capability than the United States, it would be dangerous to world stability because

a. the United States would have to retaliate b. it violates the SALT II treaty [✓ c. it might encourage the Soviets to take increased risks during a crisis] d. it would make every defensive weapon the United States has obsolete

8. There is evidence that the Soviets have

[✓ a. used chemical weapons in Afghanistan] b. used biological weapons in Nicaragua c. used nerve gas in Poland d. found antidotes for biological weapons

9. The American media tends not to favor sending troops or arms to nations in trouble because

a. it wants the Soviets to win b. members of the press are better judges of foreign policy decisions than the President [✓ c. the media worries that the United States will get involved in an all-out war] d. the media and the President never agree with each other

10. Successful negotiation with the Soviets depends on all of the following EXCEPT

a. being strong and making firm decisions [✓ b. making certain the Soviets know the United States will not use force] c. being consistent d. not assuming that the United states and the Soviet Union share the same values

VOCABULARY LESSON 5

EXERCISE A. Match up each of the words in column A with the word most closely related to it from column B. Place the part of speech next to each word: n = noun, v = verb, adj. = adjective, adv. = adverb. Be prepared to tell what each word in column B means.

COLUMN A			COLUMN B		
a.	militarized	5	1.	modification	n
b.	interceptor	8	2.	detonation	n
c.	boost	6	3.	incinerator	n
d.	terminal	9	4.	reflection	n
e.	modify	1	5.	military	n/adj
f.	incinerate	3	6.	booster	n
g.	retaliatory	12	7.	radiation	n
h.	evasive	10	8.	interception	n
i.	reflective	4	9.	terminate	v
j.	irradiate	7	10.	evade	v
k.	detonate	2	11.	minimum	n
l.	minimal	11	12.	retaliate	v

EXERCISE B. Fill in the blanks using one of the words from your vocabulary list. In some cases, a different form of the word on your list will be required to make the sentence read correctly.

1. One way to send an emergency distress signal is to use a mirror so that light __reflect__ off of it.

2. In some apartment buildings, trash is placed in a shute that leads down to an __incinerator__.

3. Someone who has a fatal disease is said to be suffering from a __terminal__ illness.

4. The police questioned the suspect about his whereabouts the night of the crime, but every time they asked, the man would simply __evade__ the question.

5. The purpose of having a lock on your front door is to __deter__ a criminal.

6. One of the newest methods of food packaging preserves food by radiation it so that it does not need refrigeration.

7. The factory assembly line is important to mass production.

8. When you don't quite understand a word you are reading, a good way to get the gist of the meaning is to look at the context in which the word appears.

9. Some parents encourage their children to get good grades in school by offering money as an incentive.

10. As the bus swerved off course and plowed into a busy intersection, the curious crowd of bystanders dispersed to avoid being hit.

11. The minimum passing grade was a "C."

12. The student thought the last test the teacher had given was relatively easy compared with some of the previous ones.

13. An open wound is vulnerable to infection.

14. If apples sell for $.30 apiece, or 4 for $1.00, is it more cost-effective to buy four apples or three?

15. Some gardening stores sell fertilizer in pellet form.

EXERCISE C. Select the best completion for the following sentences.

1. Mission Control planned a trajectory that would place the Space Shuttle

a. off course [✓ b.] into orbit c. in Los Angeles d. in a silo

2. Mark gave his brother a boost so that he could

[✓ a.] get over the wall b. finish his dinner c. get a double-scoop of ice cream instead of a single scoop d. sit down

3. The Olympic champion skier thought of a good way to modify the design of his skis so that

a. he wouldn't go so fast b. he could resell them [✓ c.] he would go faster d. they would look more attractive

4. A cost-effective idea is one that

[✓ a.] gives people the most for their money b. gives people the least for their money c. keeps people from making any money d. raises taxes

5. Which of the following ideas is relative?

a. Stealing is wrong. b. Children need a balanced meal. c. Success breeds success. [✓ d.] The best students make straight A's.

6. Which of the following is NOT a deterrent to crime?

a. a jail term b. a suspended sentence c. a fine d. a criminal record

7. When your parents say that what you do is a reflection on them, they mean that

a. their opinion is more important than your opinion b. no one else has a right to punish you c. what you do is important to them [✓ d.] other people judge them by the things you do

8. The term parity can refer to equivalence of all the following EXCEPT

a. weapons b. purchasing power c. property [✓ d.] laws

9. All of the following depend solely upon kinetic energy for power EXCEPT

[✓ a.] an automobile b. a sling shot c. a baseball d. a bow and arrow

10. John lived in a perpetual state of terror because

a. his mother occasionally spanked him when he was naughty b. his dog once bit one of the neighbor children c. he had been in a car accident [✓ d.] his government was sending children to concentration camps

UNIT REVIEW

REVIEW EXERCISE A. Mark each statement true or false. Be prepared to give a reason for your choices.

F 1. If the President found out today that a terrorist organization had launched a nuclear missile at the United States, he could save everybody by getting them into fallout shelters before it hit.

F 2. Radioactive fallout results no matter where a nuclear bomb is detonated.

T 3. Most of the technology to build an SDI program already exists.

T 4. The communists believe nuclear wars can be won.

F 5. To deter an enemy, all you need is as many weapons as he has.

F 6. A limited nuclear exchange can be controlled.

T 7. The ABM Treaty is based on Mutual Assured Destruction.

F 8. So far, neither side has broken the ABM Treaty.

F 9. SDI would protect the United States from every kind of weapon.

F 10. A nuclear freeze stop nations from using any nuclear weapons.

F 11. With SDI, we would still be helpless if attacked with SLBMs.

F 12. SLBMs and cruise missiles can be used to launch an effective first strike against another nation.

T 13. A reentry vehicle (RV) carries one nuclear warhead.

F 14. Kinetic energy uses nuclear power to overtake a missile.

T 15. Laser beams have many peaceful uses.

F 16. The SDI defense plan would violate the peaceful uses of space.

T 17. Communications satellites currently in space are very important to our everyday lives.

F 18. Right now our communications satelalites are well protected.

F 19. The only weakness of SDI is that it can be attacked.

F 20. Unless a defense can be devised that is 100 percent invincible, there is no point in spending money on any defense plan.

REVIEW EXERCISE B. Draw a diagram which shows the four phases of a missile launch. Indicate which phase is which on your drawing, and include in it a reentry vehicle (RV), a "bus", and a silo.

REVIEW EXERCISE C. Complete the following sentences with the correct information.

1. A mushroom cloud is composed of

dirt, dust and debris.

2. Radioactive fallout occurs when

a nuclear device is exploded on or colse to the ground.

3. MAD is called a "balance of terror" because

it is based on a threat of total annihilation.

4. The Soviets would attempt a first strike with nuclear weapons only if

they thought they could destroy our retaliatory capability.

5. "Acceptable damage" to the Soviet leadership means

acceptable to them -- not us.

6. The ground-based defense system we have now is unacceptable because

it is based on MAD.

7. Cruise missiles are difficult to find because

they "fly" under radar where it is difficult, if not impossible, to track them.

8. Using the term "Star Wars" to describe SDI is misleading because

it carries the connotation of an offensive battle in space.

9. The SDI program would also encourage the commercial development of space because

it would be cost -effective for researchers and labroratories to go into space.

10. It is not cost-effective to send one company into space to do research because

few companies could afford the expense of launch, etc., without help. It is less expensive to send many people to do tasks and chores at one time.

REVIEW EXERCISE D. Fill in the blank with the correct information from the lesson.

1. Satellites in the SDI program use heat to find the enemy's launched missiles.

2. Around 400 satellites would be placed in low-earth (300 miles orbits.

3. GBMD II may employ one of several different methods, among them "smart rocks", direct energy lasers, and chemical lasers.

4. Another term for a laser beam is a direct energy weapon.

5. At least 96 percent of all missiles launched in an attack would be destroyed using GBMD I and II of the SDI defense.

6. SDI cannot be used to launch an attack on a nation because it has no offensive weapons.

7. The ground-based, or third level, of the SDI defense system is designed to operate at short range using small, high velocity rockets to knock out any warheads that manage to get through GBMD I and II.

8. The 1972 ABM Treaty violated the Geneva Convention "Rules of Warfare."

9. The United States would be happy if the Soviets copied our SDI system.

10. It would be in the best interests of the whole world if the Soviets spent its time on defensive instead of offensive weapons.

11. The cost of a basic SDI system would be around $20 billion.

12. The cost of the MX missile program under the Carter Administration would have been $60 billion.

13. About half of the consumer goods now available to the public did not exist 20 years ago.

14. One of the greatest consumer markets that came out of the Apollo space program is the computer.

15. The argument that SDI would turn space into a war zone is not valid because space is already militarized.

UNIT EXAM

PART A. Answer the following questions to demonstrate your understanding of the unit.

1. With SDI in place, how much chance would the communists have of getting anything through our defenses with a first strike?

4 percent

2. How much radioactive fallout would be generated using the SDI approach to defense?

none

3. What kind of record does the Soviet Union have with regard to honoring treaties they have signed?

They have a 25-year record of breaking treaties.

4. How does an SDI interceptor locate a nuclear missile?

Sensors would home in on the heat from the missile's exhaust.

5. What has to happen before a nuclear warhead will detonate?

It has to be armed and triggered.

6. Why would it be difficult for the Soviets to destroy SDI satellites?

The satellites shoot back.

7. Name three types of directed-energy weapons.

laser beam based on light
chemical laser
eximer laser
particle beam

8. List three ways the Soviets might try to get around the SDI system. Would these methods work?

evasive action
reflective coatings
more boosters
more warheads

None would be effective.

9. Why is the defense of space important to researchers?

We have communications satellites and future space stations for laboratories to protect.

10. What kind of return has the government received so far on its investment in space?

100 percent

PART B. Briefly describe the three parts of the SDI system.

ANSWERS WILL VARY.
Students must discuss GBMD I, II, III.

PART C. Multiple choice. Select the best choice to complete each of the following statements.

1. The Geneva Convention "Rules of Warfare" stated that

[✓ a.] civilians must be protected whenever possible b. it was permissible to attack population centers c. no nuclear weapons could be used d. none of the above e. all of the above

2. SDI would provide an incentive for businesses and researchers to go into space because

a. they would not have to bear the whole cost of going up [✓ b.] they would be protected from attack c. it would be cost-effective d. none of the above e. all of the above

3. Much of the expense for SDI could come from

a. Utah and Nevada [✓ b.] defense projects that would no longer be needed c. the Carter Administration d. the Soviet Union

4. The SDI program could not be deployed for

a. 2 years [✓ b.] 6-10 years c. 50 years d. until the 21st century

5. The main purpose of the SDI plan is

a. to create an alternative to MAD b. to get even with the Soviets c. to generate funds for NASA d. to prevent a first strike e. b and c of the above [✓ f.] a and d of the above

6. As defense program costs go, SDI

a. compares poorly b. is much more expensive [✓ c.] compares favorably d. is cheap

7. The rationale (reason) behind MAD when the 1972 ABM Treaty was signed was that

[✓ a.] since no one could possibly win a nuclear war, everyone would stop building nuclear devices b. since the communists had nuclear devices everyone else should have them too c. the treaty would freeze nuclear weapons d. we didn't need superiority

8. If a nuclear missile got through GBMD defenses I and II, it would

a. detonate on the ground [✓ b.] be intercepted by high-velocity rockets before it hit the ground c. kill millions of people due to radioactive fallout d. be knocked out with a laser beam

9. If a laser weapon is built into the SDI defense plan, it would be used to knock out nuclear missiles

a. during the "boost" phase b. during the "terminal" phase [✓ c.] during the "post-boost" and "mid-course" phases d. in the silo e. during the "post-boost" phase only

10. The GBMD II level of defense is intended to intercept nuclear warheads

a. while they are still in the silo b. while they are still contained in the "bus" [✓ c.] after the RVs begin moving toward their individual targets d. after the RVs have reentered the atmosphere.

11. The purpose of a reentry vehicle is to

a. protect a warhead from being intercepted [✓ b.] protect a warhead when it comes back through the atmosphere c. put warhead on course d. act as a heat-sensing device

12. To detect a nuclear missile launched from Russia, experts in the United States would have to

a. depend on U.S. intelligence sources abroad b. use supersensitive radar c. be informed via the Hot Line in the President's office [✓ d.] get information from satellites in space

13. Other than military defense, methods being pursued in hopes of lessening the Soviet threat include all of the following EXCEPT

[✓ a.] nuclear freeze b. deterrence c. economic sanctions d. negotiations e. linkage f. summit talks

14. Since 1914 the Soviets have lost through wars, famines, and purges

a. nearly a million citizens b. about 650,000 citizens c. about 2 million citizens [✓ d.] over 50 million citizens

15. To the communists, the term "loss" is relative because

a. their people have suffered so much loss already that they have developed a willingness to accept high casualties b. in the Soviet Union human life is not sacred c. the Soviets weigh human life against what they believe they stand to gain d. the Soviets would accept losses that no free nation would accept e. none of the above [✓ f.] all of the above